DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 358 009 SO 023 029

AUTHOR	Bjerstedt, Ake, Ed.
TITLE	Education for Peace: A Conference Report from Kyoto. Peace Education Reports No. 6.
INSTITUTION	Lund Univ. (Sweden). Malmo School of Education.
REPORT NO	ISSN-1101-6426
PUB DATE	Dec 92
NOTE	235p.; Report of the Sessions of the Peace Education Commission at the International Peace Research Association Conference (14th, Kyoto, Japan, July 27-31, 1992).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Comparative Education; *Educational Change; Educational Philosophy; Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Global Approach; Higher Education; *International Education; *Peace; War
IDENTIFIERS	*Peace Education

ABSTRACT

Conference sessions of the Peace Education Commission (PEC), a transnational network of people interested in peace education and research related to peace education, are reported in this document. Following an introductory overview of the conference as a whole, the report is divided into four parts. The first part contains three area studies; that is, papers reporting on developments related to peace education in special geographical areas. The second part includes three comparative studies, in which comparisons are made between various countries or between different time periods. The third part contains seven papers covering such topics as linguistic rights, lifelong education, nonviolence, and the World Bank. While the first three parts of the report contain full papers (or substantial extracts of papers), the fourth part presents 19 papers in brief abstract or summary form. The titles and authors of the papers included in the first three parts of the report are: Peace Education in Japanese Universities (H. Fujita; T. Ito); Education for Social Transformation in South Korea (J. Synott); Education for Global Survival: Reflections Based on Some Swedish Experiences and Examples (B. Thelin); Tragic Pages: How the GDR, FRG and Japan Processed Their War History: Lessons for Education for Peace (R. Aspeslagh); Peace Education around the World at the Beginning of the 1990s: Some Data from Questionnaires to Ministers of Education and Members of the Peace Education Commission (A. Bjerstedt); Peace Education in Britain and Japan: A Comparison (T. Murakami); Linguistic Rights as Human Rights (B. Brock-Utne); UNESCO Approaches to International Education in Universities (D. Chitoran; J. Symonides); A Within and Below Perspective on Lifelong Education (M. Haavelsrud); A Teacher Training On-site Model on Peace Education (Q. Martin-Moreno Cerillo); Raising Children towards Nonviolence (P. Patfoort); The World Bank as Development Educator: Towards Which Paradigm? (T. Swee-Hin; V. Floresca-Cawagas); and Peace and International Education in School (R. Wahlstrom). (DB)

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EDUCATION FOR PEACE:
A CONFERENCE REPORT FROM KYOTO
(IPRA, JULY 1992)

Åke Bjerstedt (Ed.)

PEC – the Peace Education Commission of the International Peace Research Association – is a transnational network of people interested in peace education and research related to peace education. The present report tries to give some idea of what happened at the PEC sessions at this summer's meeting in Kyoto, Japan.

After an introduction with some overview information about the conference, the report is divided into four parts. The first part contains three "area studies", that is papers reporting on developments related to peace education in a special geographical area. The second part includes three "comparative studies", where comparisons are made between various countries or between different time periods. The third part, here labelled "Concepts and methods" has a somewhat more mixed character and comprises seven papers. While parts 1-3 contain full papers (or substantial extracts of papers), the fourth part of the report presents nineteen papers in brief abstract or summary form.

Keywords: Conference, global approach, non-violence, peace education, peace research, war.

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introduction

1.

During the eighties we witnessed an increasing official recognition and "legalization" of peace education in several countries. However, it is still often seen as a controversial topic, and so far the lack of experience and research-based knowledge is painfully obvious. There is a great need for exchange of information.

PEC – the Peace Education Commission of the International Peace Research Association – is a transnational network of people interested in peace education and research related to peace education. It defines peace education in a broad way to include both explicit peace education (dealing for example with facts from peace research) and implicit peace education (dealing among other things with how to educate a new generation to acquire peaceful values and attitudes).

The PEC members try to keep in touch through personal communications and newsletter information, and every second year some of them meet at the general conferences of the International Peace Research Association to exchange information and views.

The present report tries to give some idea of what happened at the 1992 meeting in Kyoto, Japan.

2.

The Fourteenth General Conference of IPRA, the International Peace Research Association, was held in Kyoto, Japan, July 27-31, 1992.

There were four major *plenary sessions*, dealing with broad topics such as "Challenges of a changing global order", "Regional transformation for peace in Asia and the Pacific", "The United Nations: Peace-making and peace-keeping", and "Voices from the South: IPRA perspectives on peace and development".

Most of the work took place in the various *commissions or study groups*. There were no less than 18 of those operating at this conference, dealing with topics such as communications, conversion issues, defense and disarmament, Eastern Europe, ecological security, food policy, human marginalization in the global political economy, human rights and development, internal conflicts and their resolution, international conflict resolution, nonviolence, peace and Japan, peace building in the Middle East, peace education, peace movements, refugees, religion and conflict, women and

peace. Among the groups with especially many contributions were the Commission on Internal Conflicts and Their Solution (convenor: Kumar Rupesinghe) and the Commission on Peace Building in the Middle East (convenors: Elise Boulding and Håkan Wiberg).

Our own group, the *Peace Education Commission* (PEC), the oldest subgroup of IPRA, also had a heavy program, with ten sessions.

Our *first* PEC session was a preparatory (pre-conference) meeting, for the PEC Council members and our paper authors. We dealt with two major tasks at this meeting: final decisions on the program and various PEC Council matters, such as nominations of PEC Council members for the two-year period between the Kyoto Conference and the 1994 IPRA Conference (planned to take place in Malta).

It was decided that the former executive secretaries should not now be reelected to positions in the Council, but instead be listed as a separate group in information from PEC. The tentative term "*PEC Seniors*" has been used.

The persons nominated by the PEC group were later formally elected in IPRA's general administrative meeting (as the tradition has been; PEC is the only IPRA subgroup that gets this kind of general benediction from the big group).

PEC Council members for 1992-1994 are now: Anima Bose (India), Abelardo Brenes (Costa Rica), James Calleja (Malta), Ofelia L. Durante (The Philippines), Ian M. Harris (USA), Takehiko Ito (Japan), Nagasura T. Madale (The Philippines), Solomon Nkiwane (Zimbabwe), John P. Synott (Australia), Toh Swee-Hin (Canada), S.P. Udayakumar (India/USA), Riitta Wahlström (Finland), Maura Ward (Ireland), and Veslemøy Wiese (Norway). Twelve of these fourteen Council members were present at the Kyoto Conference. – Åke Bjerstedt (Sweden) was reelected as *Executive Secretary* of PEC for the new two-year period.

The *second* PEC session was used as an informal introduction, with general information on PEC and brief presentations of current activities related to peace education by the PEC members and others present.

The *third* session was the first paper-reading session. Papers were presented by Åke Bjerstedt, Sweden ("Peace education around the world at the beginning of the 1990s"), Magnus Haavelsrud, Norway ("A within and below perspective on lifelong education"), Ian M. Harris, USA ("On the relationship between love and education"), and Riitta Wahlström, Finland ("Peace and international education in school").

In the *fourth* session papers were read by Anima Bose, India ("A perspective on the hurdles to education and peace education in today's India"),

Betty Reardon, USA ("Learning our way to a human future"), John P. Synott, Australia ("Education for social transformation in South Korea"), and by Toh Swee-Hin, Canada and Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, The Philippines ("The World Bank as development educator: Towards which paradigm?").

In the *fifth* session we had paper presentations by Søren Keldorff, Denmark ("Did we feel better when we had it worse, and who is to blame for this? A story about the image of the enemy"), Toshifumi Murakami, Japan ("The comparison of peace education in Britain and Japan"), M.V. Naidu, Canada ("Rationalism, religionism, and peace education"), Amrut Nakhre, USA ("Peace action for nonviolent change in a rapidly changing globe"), and Robert W. Zuber, USA ("Ecological leadership in an age of diminishing superpower expectations").

In the *sixth* session, George Kent, USA, briefly described a new Master of Peace and Conflict Resolution program proposed at the University of Hawaii, and regular papers were presented by Robert Aspeslagh, The Netherlands ("Tragic pages: How the GDR, FRG and Japan processed their war history – Lessons for education for peace"), Partow Izadi, Finland ("An evolving world order: The challenges of unification and human diversity"), Bengt Thelin, Sweden ("Education for global survival: Reflections based on some Swedish experiences and examples"), and Raymond G. Wilson, USA ("A formula for peace – finally affordable").

The *seventh* session was devoted to higher education papers, including presentations entitled "A national school for teachers of conscientious objectors: A project and a curriculum" (by Antonino Drago, Italy), "Building a peace education program: Critical reflections on Notre Dame University experience in the Philippines" (by Virginia Floresca-Cawagas and Ofelia Durante, The Philippines, and Toh Swee-Hin, Canada), "The response of Israeli academics to the Intifada" (by Haim and Rivca Gordon, Israel), and "UNESCO approaches to international education in universities" (by Dumitru Chitoran and Janusz Symonides, France).

The *eighth* session also mainly focused on issues related to higher education. Three of the paper contributions were from Japan: "Peace education in Japanese universities" (by Hideo Fujita and Takehiko Ito), "Peace education in nonviolent action and training in real spots" (by Susumi Ishitani), and "Peace education using literature on atomic and hydrogen bomb victims" (by Kazuyo Yamane). Additional paper titles were "University of Wisconsin audio-print course on war and peace" (by Patricia M. Mische, USA) and "Promoting environmental responsibility in higher

education" (by Riitta Wahlström, Finland).

The *ninth* session was the final regular paper-reading session, with contributions by Birgit Brock-Utne, Norway ("Linguistic rights as human rights"), Pat Patfoort, Belgium ("Raising children towards non-violence") and S.P. Udayakumar, India/USA ("Disintegrate and integrate: Educating for an interdependent world through three stages").

The *tenth* session, finally, was devoted to general discussion, evaluation of the PEC sessions, and some future planning. In addition, Veslemøy Wiese presented her thoughts on "Summer schools – a meeting place: Local and global setting" and summarized a paper by Thomas Daffern, England who had not been able to come to Kyoto ("A thematic overview of contemporary international developments in peace and world order studies in universities"). A working group within PEC for further planning related to the idea of "summer schools" was decided upon, with Veslemøy Wiese as co-ordinator.

The PEC sessions were well attended (usually by 40 to 50 persons), and in spite of some pressure of time due to the many papers, there were several lively discussions, both in the paper sessions and in the more general sessions.

Kyoto was a very interesting setting for the conference, but the conference organizers had (wisely?) chosen a time of the year where the jungle-like humid heat kept the conference participants within the air-conditioned conference rooms most of the time.

3.

It was considered to be too time-consuming and expensive to edit and print all papers in full. We regarded it important to have a conference report available fairly soon after the conference. Hence, a combination of some full-length papers and a group of paper summaries seemed to be a reasonable solution. It should be added that being summarized rather than printed in full should not in any way be interpreted as a judgement of less value. The full-length papers were simply chosen as examples of different types of presentations among those available.

The report is divided into four parts. The *first part* contains three "area studies", that is papers reporting on developments related to peace education in a special geographical area. The *second part* includes three "comparative studies", where comparisons are made between various countries or between different time periods.

The *third part*, here labelled "Concepts and methods", has a somewhat

more mixed character and comprises seven papers. While parts 1-3 contain full papers (or at least substantial extracts of papers), the *fourth part* of the report presents nineteen papers in brief abstract or summary form. The editor has taken some editorial liberties with the abstracts available in order to increase the similarity of format and length. In some cases, where no abstract was available, the editor took upon himself to summarize the papers.

Perhaps it should be added that PEC is a network of researchers and educators hoping to increase our knowledge about the conditions of peace and peace education, but representing a broad variety of opinions on various issues. Hence, opinions expressed in each paper do not necessarily reflect those of PEC or the PEC Council.

Detailed addresses have been given throughout, so that readers can communicate with authors, comment on the papers or request copies of the full texts. Full texts are also available in the IPRA Archives at the University of Colorado (Norlin Library, Campus Box 184, Boulder, CO 80309-0184, USA).

I hope that this mixture of materials will provide our readers with useful information on some of the problems and possibilities in the peace education area as seen by educators and researchers involved in the field at the present time.

Åke Bjerstedt

part 1:
area studies

PEACE EDUCATION IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

Hideo Fujita (Rissho University: Peace Education)
Takehiko Ito (Wako University: Psychology)

The research was conducted by four members of the Research Committee for Peace Education of the Japanese Scientists Association, including Takahiko Hori (Nagoya Gakuin: Ethics) and Michio Sakakibara (Tokai University: Physics).

The Necessity of Peace Education in Universities

This report is based on the result of the Research Committee for Peace Education of the Japanese Scientists Association (JSA). The Japanese Scientists Association, founded in 1965, is a multidisciplinary organization. This Research Committee has conducted three national surveys on peace education in Japanese universities and published two books. The first two surveys were reported by JSA in 1989.

As of May 1, 1990, there were 507 universities in Japan, excluding two-year junior colleges, attended by 2,223,516 university students (including graduate students), and employing 180,044 university teachers. After 9 years of compulsory education, 91.1% of youths proceeded to senior high school. The ratio of the Japanese students who went on to a university was 24.6% (to higher education including junior colleges, 36.3%).

We claim that peace education is necessary for all Japanese college level students, because: (1) they are going to take leading roles in society, including the fields of management, science, and technology. They will be responsible for creating a peaceful world; (2) the world is changing rapidly. New ways of thinking are required in response to new problems. A peace education should be a life-long education, including the higher education level; (3) university teachers in World War II had cooperated in Japan's aggression abroad, either actively or passively, and sent their students to the battle fields. It is an important social responsibility for all university teachers today to conduct peace education.

A Brief History of Peace Education in Japan

Before introducing the surveys conducted by our committee, let us give a brief overview of Japanese peace education. Before Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, there were peace education activities against Japanese militarism. Most of them were carried out by a small number of Christians and socialists, who were severely oppressed by the Imperial government.

After World War II, peace education was initiated by elementary and secondary school teachers who reflected on their responsibility for supporting the Japanese militarism. Their determination never to cooperate in any future war was encouraged by the Japanese Teachers Union, under the post-war Constitution (1946), the so-called "Peace Constitution," and the Fundamental Law of Education (1947).

The Constitution abandons not only the right of belligerency but also prohibits maintaining military forces. It declares:

"We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationships, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of the peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want."

As for warfare, the Constitution renounces war in Article 9:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

The Fundamental Law of Education more concretely declares the role of education for the construction of a peaceful society. Article 1 defines the aim of education as follows:

"Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of a people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value,

respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society."

Under the new Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education, Japanese school teachers adopted the slogan "Never Let Us Send Pupils and Students to the Battle Fields Again" (a motto of the Japanese Teachers Union since 1950). However, after 1949, peace education was suppressed by the government, which changed the policy under pressure from the United States Government, which wanted Japan to become a breakwater against Communism.

In 1954, a Japanese fisherman was killed by exposure to radiation from an American H-Bomb test in the Bikini Islands. Because of this accident, other fishermen and a lot of fish were contaminated. The Japanese feared radioactive rain. Since then, the anti-nuclear movements have grown rapidly, encouraging teachers to teach about nuclear issues. This accident brought about the second development of peace education after the war.

The Special Session of Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly in 1978 (SSDI) had a great impact on the development of peace education in Japan. Various organizations collected twenty million signatures calling for the eliminations of nuclear weapons and for peace. Many local governments have declared themselves non-nuclear communities. (The number of the local governments has rapidly increased year by year, and it is now more than fourteen hundred.) These activities have constituted the third development of Japanese peace education.This peace education expanded rapidly in institutions of higher education and adult education. At the same time, the aim of peace education was also expanded to create people who not only work to establish a world without war, but also a world without structural violence.

The Characters of Peace Education and University Students in Japan

Japanese peace education is characterized by the teaching of the stories of Japanese war victims (in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and bombings in many cities, etc.) and assault experiences toward Asian people by the Japanese militarism between 1931 and 1945. It has contributed to create anti-nuclear and antiwar sentiments among a part of the Japanese people. But the method has been only to communicate, and not to mobilize the audience.

Peace education in the Japanese universities has developed rapidly since 1979 and it came to include the contents of structural violence. Today the peace education provides the chance for teachers and students of all fields to freely study and be interested in it, but few of them have taken an action for the peace movements. One of the reasons seems to be in the system of Japanese school education, especially up to high school, that is to say, the excessive competition and suppressive structure have made young people passive and egoistic.

First Survey in 1986

The purpose of the first survey was to gauge the state of the field of peace education in Japanese universities by members and non-members of the JSA.

Method

The first questionnaire on peace education during the 1985 academic year was mailed to ninety-four university teachers purportedly involved in teaching peace education courses, and to all of the prefectural branches of the Japan Scientists Association (JSA). The academic year in Japan begins in April and ends in March of the next year. "Universities" in this study includes four-year colleges and universities, graduate schools, and junior colleges. Extension programs for the general public by such institutions are also included. The word "peace" did not necessarily have to be included in the titles of the courses. Peace education as one component of a whole course was also included. "Peace" here included not only issues of war and disarmament but also issues of human rights, poverty, starvation, etc. Please note that these cases are not completely listed because of certain limitations in the method of our survey.

Results and Discussion

Types of Peace Education

The first survey found 67 courses on peace education offered at 43 universities in the answers of 57 teachers. The types of peace education were analyzed in the categories shown in Table 1.

Fields of Peace Education

As shown in Table 1, of the 67 courses mentioned above, 46 fall into the categories of single-teacher lectures and seminars (category A & B). These 46 courses further break down into the fields of peace studies (4), law (3), politics (10), sociology (3), economics (4), philosophy/ethics (4), psychology (1), education (7), physics (3), medical science (3), and other natural sciences (4).

In Japan, there are only two universities, Hiroshima University and Shikoku Gakuin University, where courses titled "peace study" are offered. Shikoku Gakuin University introduced a course curriculum titled International Peace Studies Course in 1988. This is the first course offered in Japan for a bachelor's degree majoring in peace studies. The large number of classes in political science might be a reflection of the fact that the largest single portion (40%) of the membership of the Peace Studies Association of Japan is composed of political scientists.

The aim of most of the activities was disarmament education, especially nuclear disarmament. Education for human rights is conducted in law courses and in category C. There were few cases of environmental education from the point of view of peace education. Of the 17 interdisciplinary lectures (category C), most were provided as general education with the exception of Kobe University, where the course was given as a course of study for teacher education. The "Peace Education" course at Kobe University is an exception in a different sense, since the teachers belong to the same discipline (i.e. education, educational science). The first interdisciplinary course was opened in Hiroshima University in 1977, and another twelve universities also began their courses during 1982-1984. Some lecturers come from different departments and universities, and some are Hibakushas (A-bomb survivors) or high school teachers. These interdisciplinary courses on peace education opened up a new possibility for the development of university education in Japan.

It is historically important that courses on peace and disarmament education (in the broader sense) were established nationwide as regular courses: not by pressure from the government, but by voluntary, cooperative efforts. Further realization of collective cooperation among the entire faculty with different thoughts and beliefs can create a new wave of university development in terms of the autonomous organization of education. In this regard, it is anticipated that more courses will be introduced and developed, not only

quantitatively, but also with various qualitative developments in the form of interdisciplinary cooperation for the promotion of peace education. The development of new ways of integrating research and education on peace issues is a problem still to be solved by Japanese university teachers.

Extension lectures (Category E) were provided in six universities for the general public during 1983-85. It seems ironic to us, as university teachers, that citizens enrolled in these courses exhibited more enthusiasm and motivation toward the subject than the regular undergraduate students.

The number of peace education courses seems to have increased every year. In 1978 and 1983 many courses were newly provided, following the SSDI and SSDII meetings of the United Nations.

Second Survey in 1988

There were two aims in the second survey. The first was to confirm the stability and ongoing development of peace education in Japanese universities by looking at quantitative changes in the number of courses provided on peace education in the two years. The second purpose was a qualitative analysis of content, teaching methods and course evaluation.

Method

The second questionnaire on peace education during the 1987 academic year was conducted using the same procedure as that of the first survey. The questionnaire was mailed to 167 university teachers, including 57 teachers who had responded to the first one, and to the prefectural branches of the JSA. The definition of peace education here, as in the previous survey, included not only education on the issues of war and peace but also education concerning the suppression of human rights, poverty and starvation. It also included lectures and seminars whose titles did not contain the word "peace". Peace education as one component of a whole course was also included.

The questionnaire focused on the content and methods of peace education.

Results and Discussion

Quantitative Increase in Peace Education Courses

The total number of peace education courses offered reached 133 – twice as many as in the first survey. Table 2 shows 104 courses in the onset year. In 1986, the International Year of Peace, 14 new courses were opened. There also was a big increase in the number of new classes (11) in the following year, 1987. Table 2 reveals that one third of the 1987 courses began before 1979, another one third during 1980-84, and the remaining classes began after 1984. The number of peace education courses offered in universities today is three times as many as in the late 1970s, and seven times as many as in 1974.

It is worth pointing out that the interdisciplinary lecture style courses have constantly grown in recent years. The growth of this kind of course, supported by the autonomy of university faculty, is a barometer of the increase of teachers' cooperation and concern in university education in general, as well as teachers' concern with issues of social responsibility, educating young people to be aware of peace issues in particular.

In addition to a total quantitative increase, there has also been an increase in variety in terms of fields and disciplines of the courses. Courses in history, geography, literature, foreign languages, and psychology were found for the first time in the second survey.

Content of Peace Education

Of the thirty-two topics mentioned in the questionnaire, the most popular ones were "nuclear weapons/nuclear strategy", "Hiroshima & Nagasaki" and "arms race/military expenses." The least popular ones were "population," "literature/arts," and "Apartheid." This ranking reflects the present trend of peace education in Japan. It has been pointed out that Japanese peace education is heavily oriented to facts concerning Japanese people's casualties during World War II, such as the suffering of A-bomb victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and needs to pay proper attention to the sufferings of other Asian people during the Japanese invasion and occupation. On this point, many of the university teachers seem to show a good sense of balance by emphasizing Japanese assaults on Asian citizens (34%).

Another weak point in Japanese peace education, according to Yamada (1988), is the relative lack of teaching about structural violence by developed countries on AALA countries (Asia, Africa, Latin America) and understanding of the cultures and peoples of the third world. For example, Ito (1988) indicated that Japanese university students' geographical knowledge of the world was so biased and influenced by political factors and educational policy that they could not draw proper maps of Africa, Latin America or neighboring countries in East Asia, but they could draw detailed maps of Western Europe and the United States. The results of the present study suggest university teachers' concern with the problems of the third world, despite the still-prevailing student ignorance of this problem. Peace education is not identical to disarmament education. The results also suggest the need to pay more attention to teaching issues relevant to "structural violence" and "positive peace," such as Apartheid and the problems of the developing countries.

Methods of Peace Education

The practice of peace education in elementary and secondary schools and in adult education has repeatedly confirmed that not only learning from the teacher but also students' active participation, such as learning collectively, investigating by themselves, and expressing themselves in educational activities, are crucially important. In the present study, fourteen items on methods of peace education were selected to evaluate the extent of students' active participation and student-teacher interaction in the classes. Audio-visual media are widely used; VTR tapes, slides, and movies are utilized in more than half of the classes. Japan is one of the countries which has produced a large amount of audio-visual educational materials useful and available for peace education. The audio-visual method is important to convey the war experience to young people. Writing and reading are also common activities in university education.

More than half of the teachers solicit students' opinions and test their knowledge. Seminar style courses have higher rates of utilizing an active approach in teaching than single-teacher lecture courses and interdisciplinary lecture courses. These results suggest the importance of limiting the enrollment of students in a single class on peace education, as well as for other educational purposes. There were 11 lectures which applied none of the 14 items, demonstrating that the traditional one-way lecture style still

exists in Japanese peace education.

Evaluation of Peace Education

The teachers were asked to rate their impressions of how the others evaluate their courses. The questions are the same as those used in Okamoto's (1987) survey. The peace education teachers generally have positive impressions of how their courses are perceived by their students and colleagues.

Third Survey in 1991-92

Method

The first survey was conducted for peace studies courses taught in 1985-86, and the second survey for peace studies courses in 1987-88. As shown in Table 1, there was a remarkable increase in the number of courses. The purpose of the third survey was to follow the development of peace studies, focusing on team-taught courses. Most of them are interdisciplinary courses. The questionnaire was sent to 36 universities in November 1991. In June, 1991 the Ministry of Education revised the University Establishment Standards, outlining the official requirements for the inauguration of a college, and deregulated those rules that controlled the university curriculum. As a result, the distinction between general education and specialized courses was abolished. We thought that the deregulation might facilitate the deconstruction of general education. As most of the team-taught peace studies courses in the second survey belonged to the area of general education, we feared that the Ministry Ordinance for deregulation might make it difficult to continue the peace studies courses.

The questionnaire items sought to gauge the continuity and development of the courses since 1987-88; the institutional structure of general education in each university; decisions, plans, predictions, or fears concerning the structural change of general education caused by the deregulation; the change, prediction or appreciation of the peace studies course(s) categorized as a general education subject; and predictions, misgivings, or views on peace studies in general.

Results

31 out of 36 universities replied to our questionnaire. Of 31 universities, 26 (83.9%) continued peace studies courses, four (12.9%) had stopped providing courses, and one university (3.2%) was going to continue after a recess. Many of the continuous courses were maintained through the efforts of a single coordinator or a group of teachers. Table 3 is the summary of the titles and universities which provide team-taught peace studies course(s) .

As for the content of the courses, there were several responses which stressed that environmental issues were to be included in the peace studies courses. The initial effects of governmental deregulation were minimal. The responses suggest not only the difficulty of continuing the peace studies courses in the domain of general education, but also the difficulty of sustaining and further developing peace studies courses in both general education and specialized education.

Sophia University stopped its general education course on peace and opened an introductory course on peace studies in the specialized curriculum area. Ritsumeikan University established a peace museum, which functions as a new center of peace education.

General Discussion

Development of Peace Education in Japanese Universities

According to our data, there has been a qualitative growth of peace education in Japanese universities. While our surveys had certain limitations in their method of sampling, Okamoto (1987) did a general survey of all the universities and colleges in Japan at almost the same time as our first survey. Okamoto found 113 classes in 86 institutions where issues of peace and war were taught in some form. The difference in the number of courses is due partly to different sampling methods and partly to different definitions. Okamoto's definition of peace education was wider than ours, including not only war and military issues and issues of structural violence, but also issues of alternative lifestyles, philosophical-religious treatment of peace, and peace education as a learning process. Furthermore, since his data were based on responses restricted to only 25% of the total number of universities, we can assume there are more undiscovered courses which teach peace-related

issues. One of the difficulties of the survey method is the teacher's hesitation for various reasons in labeling his or her course(s) as "peace education."

More teachers have become aware of the skewing of the structure of students' knowledge that was formed during their primary and secondary education under the governmental censorship of textbooks and control of teachers by the local educational committees. The competitive race for the entrance examinations also influences not only students' structure of knowledge but also their personality development. The adoption by the Liberal Democratic Party government and the business establishment of educational policies oriented to the priorities of economic development has distorted young peoples' consciousness of social justice and their sense of belonging to a wider world community, and impaired their ability to think critically. As for the issues of World War II, Japanese peace education sometimes focused only on the misery suffered by the Japanese, and has tended to fail to take up facts of the resistance within Japan to militarism before and during the war, and the facts of Asian casualties caused by the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy. The issue of the war responsibility of Showa Emperor Hirohito also needs to be discussed more openly and widely.

The surveys revealed that university teachers had developed educational methods for enhancing students' motivation as well as for improving their knowledge relating to peace. For example, a seminar on sociology at Hitotsubashi University had students investigate Hibakushas through interviews. Students in a seminar on adult education at Rissho University continuously sought examples of local practices of adult education and wrote reports on and discussed the materials they discovered.

There are several universities that offer systematic peace education. Hiroshima University, located at the site of the A-bomb disaster in 1945, has a long tradition of peace education, providing several courses on peace studies. The university has published its own textbook for use in its introductory/interdisciplinary course. Ryukyu University, located on the Okinawan island where many Japanese civilians were killed or committed suicide to avoid capture during the American invasion, published a report on their peace education. Many Japanese civilians were also killed during the invasion of Okinawa. Some were killed not by the invading American forces but by the "defending" Japanese forces. This history, coupled with the meaningless suicides of many other civilians and the long postwar occupation of Okinawa, has left deep scars on Okinawans, lending a special urgency to peace issues there.

The teachers' cooperation is not only directed to education on the campus but also to solidarity with the peace movement beyond the campus. Shikoku Gakuin University opened a unique course curriculum named the International Peace Studies Course in the Department of Sociology in 1988. An extension course offered by Hosei University for the general public, called the Hosei Peace University (Ogata, 1987) is another unique peace education course. It is not an official course of the university but is run by volunteers. Its method of teaching each class, usually consisting of a combination of lecture and audio-visual material, such as movies, is also unique in Japan.

Problems of Teachers

Peace education is still largely a new field for most Japanese university teachers, because there are very few higher education institutions that provide degrees or graduate level educational training in the field. Peace education usually requires knowledge beyond the teachers' particular academic discipline. Not a few teachers still hesitate to provide a peace education course for this reason. Although Japan has one of the largest organizations for peace studies, many teachers take peace issues as a non-academic topic unrelated to their profession as a teacher and researcher.

One of the consequences of this state of affairs is the relatively small number of peace education courses offered in a teacher's own discipline, in contrast to the flourishing of interdisciplinary courses. Our responsibility in peace education must be both social and professional in terms of our speciality.

We would like to point out a more general problem: some university teachers have low motivation in teaching students. This can be explained partly by the image of students having low motivation in learning and studying. Another factor is the drastic change in higher education in the last few decades, from providing academic/professional educational institutions for the elite, to providing popular educational institutions into which nearly 40% of all high school graduates now enter. However, some university teachers have not been successful in adapting themselves to this change in the social function of the university and insist on maintaining their traditional educational methods and standards.

Problems of Students

College students' peace activities are not very conspicuous in Japan at present, although there were flourishing student movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Peace education means not only giving information, but also mobilizing public opinion on peace issues (Final Document of SSD I and Final Report of World Conference on Disarmament Education of United Nation sponsored by UNESCO, 1980). According to these reports, university teachers, as well as elementary and secondary teachers, are encouraged to provide education for peace in addition to education about peace.

There are two ways to solve this problem. One is through improvement of educational methods; for example, by organizing discussions in the class on how to realize world peace and by having students participate in various kinds of peace activities. This method requires small group study sessions after larger group gatherings.

The other is reform of the structure of Japanese school education, especially the entrance examination system for universities. Heavy competition dominates Japanese schools from primary to high school. Many students do not recognize the problems of minorities in Japan and throughout the world. These students have little sense of solidarity with the less privileged, and lack the courage and insight to act for justice and peace. The heavily competitive structure comes from the educational policy of the conservative Japanese government. However, we think that this structure can be improved by changing the method of the university entrance examinations. Therefore it is the task of all university teachers desiring world peace to make efforts to reform the school structure and improve the method of the entrance examination.

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Table 1. Number of courses by five categories

Style of teaching	1st Survey	2nd Survey
A: Personal Lectures	34	73
B: Personal Seminars	12	20
C: Interdisciplinary Lectures	17	35
D: Aids to Students' Volunteer Study	0	2
E: Extension Lectures	4	3(4)
Total	67	133

Table 2. Number of courses according to the onset year

Onset year	before &	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	Total
A: Personal Lectures	12	3	1	2	1	2	6	3	2	2	5	6	9	6	60	
B: Personal Seminars	2	1	2	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	15	
C: Interdisciplinary Lectures	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	3	6	1	4	5	29	
Total	15	5	4	2	3	6	7	5	6	6	11	9	14	11	104	

Table 3. Summary of Survey 3

Ref#	University	Title of the class
1	Hokkaido Univ.	Interdisciplinary study of peace
2	Hirosaki Gakuin College	Looking at the 21st century
4	Ibaragi Univ.	Politics and economy in the 20th century
6b	Chuo Univ.	The third world and Japan
8	Senshu Univ.	Peace and the change of international environment
10	Sophia Univ.	Introduction to peace studies
11	International Christian Univ.	Thoughts on peace
13	Keisen Women's College	The present history of the world

14	Kanto Gakuin Univ.		Peace studies
15	Yamanashi Univ.	1)	Tasks for the 21st century: Human rights, peace and environment
		2)	The global environment, science, technology, and human society
16	Nagoya Univ.		War and peace today
17	Chukyo Univ.		Peace studies
18	Aichi Kyoiku Univ.		Peace studies
21	Shiga Univ.		Peace education
22	Ritsumei Univ.		Disarmament and peace
23	Osaka Univ. East and West		Life and environment: Sciences of
24	Konan Univ.		Humankind and nuclear issues
25	Kobe Univ.		Peace education
26	Okayama Univ.		International interchange and peace
27	Hiroshima Univ.		Comprehensive study of war and peace
32	Kyushu Univ.		Nuclear issues
33	Nagasaki Univ.		Peace studies
34	Nagasaki Souka Univ.		Nature and society of Nagasaki
35	Ryukyu Univ.		Nuclear sciences
36	Okinawa Univ.		Environmental sciences
37	Saga Univ.		On peace

A more detailed report is available from: Japanese Scientists Association, 1-9-16 Yushima, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, 113, Japan.

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EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH KOREA

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One of the features of states with civilian-military governments and strong social control is management of information channels within the state in such a way as to promote politically correct ideology and epistemology. This process entails an internal repression and denial of any information and cultural activities that challenge the dominant hegemony. The Republic of South Korea provides an outstanding example of this form of state practice. A 1990 Asia Watch Report contains a list of persons jailed in connection with publishing activities during the period January 1989 – August 1990. During this seventeen month period, 69 persons were charged under the National Security Law for publishing activities (Human Rights Watch, 1990). At the same time, over 529 publications were listed by the courts as seditious and prosecutors intensified their arrests of anyone writing, translating, editing or selling listed works. In April, 1989, over 10,000 books were seized from 305 printing houses and bookstores. These activities were conducted in conjunction with strict control over the official media. Twenty employees of the Korean Broadcasting Service were charged in May, 1990, for challenging the dictatorship over television services by the government-appointed chief-executive. Derived from the experiences in this century of tyrannous Japanese colonialism and U.S. manipulation of Cold War polititics, the techniques of information control are embedded in the institutions and attitudes of the dominant groups in South Korea.

With this internal situation, the South Korean government correspondingly controls and manages their representations to the outside world, to the point of obscuring facts and distorting the social realities of that society. This obfuscation extends right across the board, embracing issues of democracy, the environment, human rights and even economics – the area where South Korea attracts most attention. The Roh Tae Woo government of the Sixth Republic has proven itself to be particularly adroit at the political manipulation of public discourse and image. It has taken studies such as those of Asia Watch (1990), Hart-Landsberg (1987) and Bello and Rosenfeld (1991) to ex-

plode many of the myths surrounding the so called 'economic miracle' of South Korea in its commitment to the industrial development paradigm and its status in the foremost of the NICs.

This distorted representation of Korean affairs to the outside world includes the area of education, which is regarded in Korea and generally, in developing countries as integral to economic growth and social modernisation (cf Psacharopolous & Woodhall, 1985). In Korea, all social development plans and the activities of the various ministries such as education are determined by the Economic Planning Board and the driving paradigm of education has been "human capital" theory.

In recent years, three major English language reports on education in Korea have been produced with a purpose of informing the English speaking world about educational conditions and strategic policies in South Korea: *Korean Education Reform Toward the 21st Century* (1987) produced by a National Presidential Commission, *Development Strategies in Education Toward the Future Industrial Society* (1989) and *Korean Education 2000* (1985) both produced by the Korean Educational Development Institute. All of these documents maintain a consistent representation of education in Korea, that while "educational development in Korea hardly finds its parallel anywhere in the world" (KEDI, 1987), the dynamic thrust towards an "advanced technology and information centred, open door and international, plural and multidimensional society" (KEDI, 1987) warrants educational expansion that in the words of the Presidential Commission, will provide "a great leap up the development ladder toward the realisation of our aspirations".

Apart from an ongoing maintenance of "highly proficient manpower for industrial development so as to march towards the future industrial society", (KEDI, 1987, p. 41) the reports mentioned the need for education to consider "the whole person", so that "well rounded personalities and expertise" (KEDI, 1987, p. 42) will flourish in the science and technology society.

Within the policies, certain reforms are proposed "to ennance the nation's international competitiveness in political, economic, social and cultural circles and lead social transformation toward the desired goal" which is, for Korea, "leaping ahead into the ranks of the advanced nations". The notions of "democratisation", "humanization" and "autonomy" in education are concepts presented by the Korean Government as desirable reforms in education to achieve the industrial objectives. (The Presidential Commission for Educational Reform, 1987, p. 5.)

Rather than leaping ahead, however, a number of factors indicate Korea is on an economic decline. In their excellent analysis of the Korean economic situation, Bello and Rosenfeld (1991) consider that South Korea is desparately trying to avoid lapsing back into third-world status. More realistically the future status of Korea could signal, a "fifth" world of nations that have rapidly over-developed, over-populated, over-industrialised, de-cultured, over-urbanised, and excessively oppressed their peoples to a point of exhaustion. Whereas the third world nations are seen as having "development potential", the members of the fifth-world will be post-development: over-exploited and bankrupt. Their last economic option may be to become the toxic and nuclear waste dumps for the rest of the world.

Just as proclamations such as investment reports by the World Bank that endorse Korea's economic growth hide a darker reality of pollution, industrial accidents, toxic and radiation hazards, economic dependency and labour oppression, so also does the official rhetoric conceal institutional oppression within education. Not one of the reports cited above acknowledges the deep educational crisis that exists in Korea.

Just as the activities of publishers who defy the government/industrial coalition, are oppressed, so also are the activities of educators who attempt to challenge the authoritarian regime. External rhetoric and internal repression are the mechanisms for managing the educational environment in Korea.

Subsequently, the outside world is not aware that an educational struggle is being waged in South Korea. It is not aware that the government has attempted to appropriate the discourse of its opposition: democratisation, humanisation, independence and social transformation are terms that were promoted by the educational resistance, not for the great leap forward into the high-tech culture and capitalist economy of the next century, but for a social transformation that will realise in Korea an education system which functions in the interests of the masses rather than the core elite. The introduction of these terms by the government manifests a cynical exercise in linguistic imperalism – it marks a conflict over the meaning of language and concepts that is fundamental to a profound cultural struggle being waged in South Korea.

Democratisation, humanisation and independence represent three central features of "Chamgyoyuk", loosely translated as "True Education", that is the philosophy of "Chunkyojo", the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union, a banned and repressed educational movement in contemporary Korea. Since they are banned and because they operate in

Hangul, the Korean language, and few members have recourse to English, and also because the government controls the flow of information to the outside world, it has been excessively difficult for Chunkyojo to communicate its situation and transformative education approaches to the world, in spite of its wish to do so. As I indicated previously, surveillance, secrecy, and distortion of truth have been endemic in modern Korean history and social movements that seek to challenge the legitimacy of the status quo have been severely repressed.

Specific features of Korean education concern the community of teachers, parents and students and have led to the formation of an organised resistance. Some of the worst features of the educational system in South Korea have such a social impact and historical tradition as to constitute myths in the Korean consciousness. Two of these, in particular, gain coverage in the media and figure prominently in discussions on education: "examination hell" and "student suicides" are major phenomena of Korean education. Both of these events are elements of the economic models which Korea is pursuing, although their roots lie in earlier times. During the most violent periods of Japanese colonial tyranny, for instance, suicide was practised by Koreans as legitimate protest. It was not uncommon for mothers to kill all of their children and themselves, not for protection but as a political action. Many of the student suicides have the same purpose. In a more general way, education has been used as a tool of social oppression throughout this century in Korea.

It is acknowledged that there are over 200 student suicides per year in South Korea and most of these are perpetrated by high school students as a direct response to the educational oppression. Their suicide notes are a telling record of their despairing protests; for example a note left behind by a 16 year old girl, Choi Eun-Sun, who committed suicide in July, 1989 said, she wanted to "live in a world where human beings are not judged by test scores" *(The Korea Times*, August 27, 1989, 3). Kim Tong Pu, found dead in the Han River, June 22, 1988, left this message "I commit suicide. I cannot stand this terrible atmosphere for the entrance examination" (quoted in *Urigvovuk* [Our Education] Magazine, May, 1990).

Students as young as 11 years old have committed suicide by hanging or leaping from buildings and bridges. Generally, the actions are a response to academic results that are lower than expected. Many suicides occur after the publication of university entrance exam results. On December 26, 1989, the day following publication of entrance offers, Han Jong-Rye and her 19 year old son, Chong Yon-Su, died by ingesting agricultural pesticide when he

failed to enter the chemistry department of Kyungnam University. I suspect they were aware of the irony as they drank the chemicals.

When Chunkyojo was formed, in May, 1989, and severe repression on teachers was instigated, there was a rush of student suicides and attempted suicides. On June 14, 1989, two students from Kuro High School, in Seoul, leaped from a three-storey building demanding re-instatement of their sacked teachers (*The Korea Times*, June 15, 1989, 3). On June 11, 1990, Kim Mi Kyong, 16 years old, leaped from a building in Taegu, and left a suicide note saying, she was going to take her life for the cause of "true education" (*The Korea Times*, June 12, 1990, 3).

What is evident from following the various cases of suicide is that the self-blaming despair of the young people began to be perceived by them as a result of structural violence and the suicide attempts acquired an increasingly political character. The official response to this was, as it had always been, to blame the youngsters. In an editorial entitled "Suicide-Prone Youngsters", *The Korea Times* newspaper noted a recent increase in suicides and commented:

> "There is no denying that the pressure of tough studies and meeting the demands of parents and teachers can be backbreaking or nerve-racking. But this is a reality that has to be faced for better or worse" (*The Korea Times*, Nov. 11, 1989, p. 3).

The rebel teachers also were accused of inciting the students to suicide for their own ends. It was only in fact after many more deaths and disruptions throughout 1989/1990 that President Roh Tae Woo was forced to admit to "inhumane trends" in the nation's education (*The Korea Times*, May 16, 1990, p. 3). The editorial cited above referred to "mental disorders, ranging from chronic headaches to serious melancholy" amongst Korean school students and it was my observation of this fact, and how my students told me that they, in one girls words, "had lost their personalities" that caused me to inquire into the social origins of what was evidently a collective trauma.

The compelling cause behind the suicides and other disorders, and the anger of the protests, was "ipshi jiok" or "examination hell" in South Korea. This is a social control mechanism that epitomises the relationship between education, economic growth and western-style modernisation in South Korea, as well as the historicial conditions of authoritarianism and illegitimate social coercion.

From a child's earliest entry into school at age 7, education is serious

business and examination hurdles must be regularly confronted. Moreover, the learning style for the education system is established from the beginning: memorization of facts, whether true or untrue; uncritical acceptance of dogma; rote learning; repetition; a single-minded concern for only the official text books; submission to hierarchical relationships and enforced competition with one's peers. Parents push their children into the system, and make great personal sacrifices for the educational success of their children. There is a large degree of financial corruption in the school system. Parents bribe teachers to give their child a desk at the front of the crowded room, or a bit of extra attention. As one of my previous Korean students wrote in an essay "the prices of seat in the front of the class was a cash gift (bribe) to the teacher. Normal kindness like dinner invitations and boxes of fruit won't buy their way off the back row" (Kang Dug Won, 1990).

The practice is institutionalised to such a degree that a special day, Teachers Day, is devoted to the receiving of these 'gifts', for school and university teachers alike. Traditionally, this day was a celebration of one of the most revered relationships in society, that of teacher and student.

In the Republic of Korea there is a huge industry of private enterprise establishments that provide extra tuition for students. Many high school students take extra classes at the sacrifice of their little leisure time. Special private schools exist that cater for high school examinations failures, where even more pressure is exerted as children repeat their final year usually in an atmosphere of shame for their previous failure.

As the children move into high school all other interests disappear. They leave home for school in the morning darkness and arrive home by moonlight about 10.00 p.m., six days a week. They spend all of their lives cramming for the University Entrance Examination.

Institutional violence is routinely exerted in the imposition of discipline, uniformity, and subjugation to the official knowledge and authority figures. Each school day is a tyranny of crammed learning reinforced by corporal punishment. The students are obliged to wear regulation haircuts and uniforms, act alike, speak alike. They have no social life but the comraderie of their classmates in this "ipshi jiok" or examination hell. Strong bonds develop in this youth culture, often to become part of the tight social networks of adult life. Like slave days of old, student meetings end up in songs of oppression and dreams of liberation. In the classroom, however, favourite friends become rivals.

The semi-military conditions are reinforced through text books proclaim-

ing pro-government, pro-U.S., pro-development ideology drawn around the spectre of North Korea. As one of my students wrote so appropriately

> the third republic (which was dominated by Park Jung Hee president and had continued from 1961 to 1979) led students to excessive anti-communism and planted American–flatterism in students' minds. By doing that, they neglected the need of unification and obliterated our own national identity. This has been still continuous in these days. In summary, government authorities have treated education as a measure which they abuse to keep their authority. So, education, has been sacrificed under these bad environments, and teachers have been degraded to simple salesmen who only sell the knowledge. (Lee Jung Ae, 1990).

Miss Lee then recounted how she had to learn the following sentence for her university entrance exam: "After 10.26 coup in 1979 the fifth republic was born. Now the fifth republic is much trying to establish social justice and a democratic welfare state." She said, "I had to memorise this sentence unconditionally and believed it without any doubt." Later, at university she "saw the real face of the fifth republic". She commented "I was much shocked. I was angry with text book, but I was more angry with my society teacher. Why he taught us untruth as a truth? Even now, I don't understand my society teacher. Why he should do this?" (Lee Jung Ae, 1990).

The focus of examination hell is the University Entrance Examination, a seven hour marathon test conducted on a single day throughout the country. Students may only apply for one course of study at one university. They have a 25% chance of success, after the twelve years of punishing preparation. Every year, that day is a crisis in Korea – for parents who wait at the university gates all day, many of them weeping, for teachers, but especially for the students taking part in a quest loaded against them. There is a rush of suicides after exam day.

Underpaid, overworked, powerless, demoralised, humiliated, many teachers had begun to ask questions about this dehumanising process. Teacher groups, had been meeting informally for some years. Many of them were reading groups where articles and ideas were discussed. Gradually, an active conscientisation and solidarity broke through the bitter silence. The movement began in Kwangju in 1986, organised by YMCA members and teacher clubs. One of the founders, Yun Young Kyu was to become first president of Chunkyojo and spend a year in prison for leading an illegal trade union. He was also an elder of the Presbyterian Church. Late last year he was forced to

resign as president because on-going police harassment was preventing him doing his work.

The teacher clubs formed a National Teachers' Association in September, 1987. As this group started to declare its intention of forming a union to promote teachers basic working rights and educational reform, the government turned on them a withering rhetoric of intent. President Roh Tae Woo declared that "middle and high school teachers spreading leftist ideology among students in particular should be expelled from campuses as part of an effort to root out violent revolutionary forces" (*The Korean Herald*, April 7, 1989, p 1).

Six weeks later, on May 28, 1989, the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union, Chunkyojo, was formed in a mass rally in Seoul with a membership of 24,000 teachers out of a total teaching population of 300,000. Over 1,000 people were arrested at the rally by riot police. The government declared that the union was a small group of insurrectionaries and announced on July 1, that all unionists would be dismissed and arrested. Chunkyojo responded by publishing the list of its members names in daily newspapers, to show the size of its membership. They produced evidence that they were supported by 80% of the nations teachers and university academics. The school students came out in support.

The government established an inquisition and a campaign of intimidation, that included telling families that members who were teachers were engaging in subversive activities to assist a communist take-over of South Korea. At least one parent committed suicide in shame. School principals put great pressure on staff to disassociate themselves from the movement. In protest, about 650 union members went on a hunger strike in Myong Dong Cathedral from July 26 to August 5, 1989.

Tribunals were instituted throughout the country and union members were individually called up, accused and dismissed from their jobs. Sixty- five members, including the President were arrested and some 1700 teachers were dismissed from their jobs, while another 1000 were placed under investigation. The education system was thrown into chaos. Protesting school students invaded the tribunals. Parents demonstrated for and against the teachers. Riot police invaded meetings. A media campaign was waged against the teacher union claiming, as in The Korea Times, that "the union drive carried large doses of political and ideological messages" (*The Korean Times*, June 16, 1989, Editorial).

The effects of the sackings on the teachers were profound as they lost their

livelihood and respectability. One teacher, Lee Sun Dong who practised true education with the support of his students and their parents fell ill and died the day after his dismissal. This poem was written in homage to him:

> How can he sleep.
> He rejected being a slave.
> He loved our blind children who follow us
> like small fish.
> The suffering of those children is his suffering.
> The love for those blind children is love for our people.

For a year, one sacked teacher pretended to go to school each morning. He dressed up in his suit and went out, because he could not bear to tell his mother of his situation. Others had to face the shame of sending their parents away from their home, or out to work. One sacked teacher's father, 66 years old, took a job as a janitor, while his mother collected vegetables in the mountains and sold them. Others lost their homes and lived in cars. Miss Bae Ja Yong was forced to move to a small basement room where she was poisoned to death by carbon monoxide gas from the coal burners.

The sacked teachers lost all their welfare and civil rights, such as medical care in hospitals. The sacked teachers were refused other jobs, or were dismissed if their identity was discovered. In short, the government acted to marginalise and obliterate the social identity of the teachers who had dared to criticise the regime of state power. Their extreme reactions evoked once more the practices of the former colonial tyranny.

The teachers initiated an "attendance" campaign and went back to their schools where they were locked outside the gates – centres of controversy, demonstrations, emotional scenes as they were met by weeping students.

Most of the dismissed teachers committed themselves to Union work and within a few months had organised 600 school chapters and 15 regional branch offices around the country. They were financially supported by the teachers in the schools and education students at universities who made monthly donations. Sacrifice was shared, but its main burden was on the dismissed teachers and their families, who lived at the poverty level. From there, they engaged directly in the social, political and legal struggles of re-instatement, gaining union legitimacy, establishing the praxis of 'True Education' and pushing forward the general social movement for democracy and civil rights in South Korea.

One year after its formation, over 5,000 teachers gathered at Kyunghee University in Seoul to mark the first anniversary of the National Teachers

Union. The Korean Times commented "one year from the event nothing seems to have changed in the fate of the progressive teachers and the government position on the legal status of NTU" (*The Korea Times*, May 29 1990, p. 3). As usual, over 1000 riot police surrounded the campus. The police would not let the meeting be held even inside the university and, led by tear-gas launching vehicles, stormed the site twice to break up the rally, firing tear-gas shells and wielding shields and truncheons against teachers, family members and children. Even so, the dissidents locked themselves in an auditorium and continued with the ceremony in spite of scores of teachers being badly injured. *(The Korean Times,* May 29 1990, p 3.)

Now, it is three years since the formation of the union, and little has improved or changed at the official level for Chunkyojo. The government has persisted in its sustained campaign against the union. It has introduced new political screening procedures for the teaching employment to ensure that education graduates sympathetic to Chunkyojo will not be offered work; it has continued the ideological war; and it has continued the direct repression by sacking teachers who it finds to be members as well as a sustained campaign of state terrorism against the active union members.

All of these efforts, however, have been insufficient to destroy the union, which has not only survived, but has been able to effect significant inroads into discussions and directions of education in South Korea. The activities and practices of Chunkyojo have established a genuine discourse and agenda for social transformation in South Korea through education, that is an illuminating example for peoples' education movements in other nations.

The central educational activities of Chunkyojo are focussed towards the realisation of "Chamgyoyuk", that is "true" or "genuine" education, as opposed to the exploitative education that is official in the schools. True Education is an emancipatory educational philosophy that is expressed through three discourses of education that is nationalistic, democratic and humane. I will consider each of these claims, with a view to examine the conscientisation entailed in their adoption and their transformative possibilities.

Nationalistic education involves a critical analysis of the political interest and content of education. This concern has its roots in the previous abuse of education in Korea by the Japanese regime. Unfortunately, after the Pacific and then the Korean wars many of the personnel and practices of the colonial era were re-instituted, but this time to train the minds of Korean children into a pro-U.S., anti-North Korean cold war ideology. The extreme anti-communist posture has been continuously employed in Korean education for

nearly forty years, and has served to legitimate successive military dictatorships and U.S. manipulation of Korean politics. There is no doubt that the U.S. uses educational aid as a foreign policy strategy world wide. In addition, the school system, promoting the materialistic values of industrial modernisation has discarded the traditional culture of Korea. Chunkyojo has been working to address these issues in a number of areas. Workshops and informal meetings of teachers are held regularly to examine the contents of school curriculum with its ethos and political contents. Curriculum materials are produced and published by a curriculum committee on such areas of distorted history as reunification of Korea, and environmental education, which is badly needed as industrial development swamps the peninsula with nuclear reactors, toxic waste and fouled air, soil and water. Non-sexist education is another area of concern. The transformation of the curriculum includes a revitalisation of Korean culture in the textbooks and a rejection of U.S. cultural hegemony and other oppressive epistemologies. Naturally, the new materials are banned from the schools.

The struggle of Chunkyojo has been inspirational in cultural production in Korea. Poetry, music, visual art, theatre and films are produced that radically analyse educational practice in South Korea and dramatise the teachers struggle and the True Education movement. The union, itself, produces a very distinctive artwork and music that draws the traditional peasant "Minjung" culture of Korea into a contemporary cultural mythology. The members of Chunkyojo emphasise that the essential stakes in this struggle are cultural stakes and not a grab for political power. In support of this position, Chunkyojo teachers have established small night schools in poor industrial areas, where they work on literacy and other basic skills with uneducated people who otherwise become the labour fodder for the industrial society. Chunkyojo concern is to provide an appropriate education for all Koreans without political manipulation.

Democratic education calls for teachers to obtain the three basic labour rights of collective organisation, collective bargaining and collective action. They also seek empowerment to participate in the content and processes of education, in curriculum design and content and school organisation. Currently, the rigid hierarchy of schools is so authoritarian as to deny any participation by teachers in decision making. The teachers' union regards democratic education as fundamental in the realisation of a democratic society. It seeks to ensure the freedom of thought, study and expression for teachers; the guarantee for children's rights and the democratization of

educational administration.

Humane education seeks to address the oppressive aspects of examination hell and the widespread violation of human rights in the schools. Its concern is for teachers and students alike, for school to become more than a gateway to universities for 20% of students, but to develop whole people from meaningful learning experiences. School facilities are also an issue here for they are extremely poor, with overcrowded, poorly lit, poorly heated environments.

In Korea, members of the illegal teachers' union, seek to effect widespread democratic transformation in society through their efforts to change the state apparatus of education. They harbour no illusions about the difficulty of their task or the might of the forces drawn against them. Moreover, the rights of teachers and education generally cannot be separated from the situation of other workers in Korea. Despite government efforts to prevent it, Chunkyojo has established strong links with groups of workers and others who seek to build a democratic society. They formed a joint national organisation in December, 1991, and operate as networks and support groups in many activities. Unionised teachers contribute significantly to the public and intellectual debates in Korea and Chunkyojo publishes a magazine, newspaper and newsletters on a variety of social and political issues, as well as having its members speak at meetings and mass rallies of students, workers and farmers who now resist their exploitation under the guise of national development and seek to transform Korean society into a peaceful, democratic and just society.

In this they have the support of many churches, parents and other responsible citizens, who increasingly understand the genuine concern and constructive approach of Chunkyojo to social transformation and the self-serving measures of the government, aided by big business, to repress the education movement. Thus, by articulating its resistance and practising its philosophy of true education in the community, and subversively in the schools the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union serves to educate the public on social and political issues of their society and thus pave the way for true democratisation.

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EDUCATION FOR GLOBAL SURVIVAL
Reflections Based on Some Swedish Experiences and Examples

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1 Brief Background Facts on Sweden and Swedish Education

Sweden has a population of 8.6 millon. The traditional ethnic, religious and language homogeneity has gradually changed during the decades after World War II. Nearly ten percent of the population are now immigrants. In some communities it is possible to find classes where up to 40 to 50 percent of the children come from families where one or both of the parents have come to Sweden as immigrants for one reason or another.

Politically, Sweden has had a stable democracy since the beginning of this century. The dominating party for the last 60 years has been the Social Democrats. With few exceptions this party has held the governmental position during this period. However, with the general political election last autumn a coalition was formed by centrist and conservative parties.

The school and educational policy in Sweden has been characterized by many reforms during the postwar era. The intention of this policy has been to form a just educational system with equal opportunities for all individuals irrespective of gender and of social, economic and geographical conditions. By and large there has been political agreement on this policy. As for private schools, they play a very small role in Sweden. Less than two percent of the age group 7-11 are pupils in such schools, although a trend towards more private schools is at present very obvious.

A consequence of the intensive reform period was a rather strong centralized and uniform structure of the whole system, including centrally issued curricula for the different levels. In recent years, however, a decentralizing movement within education – as in other parts of society – has started. This movement has been even more obvious after the latest change of government.

Sweden has lived in peace since 1814. For more than 100 years the country has had the ambition to follow a strict neutral line. As for international peace efforts, Sweden has played an active role. The second Secretary General of the U N, Dag Hammarskjöld, for instance, was a Swede. Likewise Sweden is pursuing an active and supportive policy in favour of the developing countries in the Third World.

As for the traditional Swedish neutrality a change is at present being discussed. One reason for this is, of course, the great political changes on the international arena. Another is the fact that Sweden is applying for membership in the European Common Market. A membership might imply, later on, political and also military commitments. A truly crucial question from a traditional Swedish point of view!

2 Objective

The objective of this paper is to argue for the necessity of a stronger emphasis in education, in theory and practise, on issues concerning the future and the destiny of mankind. The intention is to present and analyse some models and strategies for how to contribute to bringing such an education about. The paper is in the main based on the author's practical work and experiences during the 80s as a director of education at the Swedish National Board of Education. Until July 1, 1991 this board was the central state authority for school education in Sweden. It has now been discontinued in consequence of an administrative reconstruction. Its tasks have to some degree been taken over by a new state board, the National Agency for Education in Sweden.

The starting point for the reflections presented are the following three concepts: The Unique, The Absurd, The Relevant.

3 Three Concepts

3.1 The Unique

In every generation in the history of mankind there have probably existed conscious and thoughtful individuals viewing their own time, its conditions and events, as incomparable and unique. It is easy to find good reasons for such a "chronocentrism". Every time has its own actors on the political stage and its own constellation of conditions and facts. History does not repeat itself. However, the situation and the conditions of mankind during the second part of this century and on the treshold of the third millenium differ from every other time. The reasons for this are the global threats to our future existence.

There are many examples of ideas and theories, thoughts and texts in the history of religions and ideas about the final disaster of the world and the

end of time. Both in the Jewish and the Christian religious history we can, for example, find a strong apocalyptic tradition. What is *unique* for our own time is that we possess the ability to let the old myths become reality. It is consequently significant that the survival of mankind is nowadays a concept frequently dealt with in science, literature, theater, film, art and music, not to mention the different kinds of violence entertainment in the mass media with the final catastrophe as the theme.

The threats hanging over all of us must force mankind to think and to behave in a radically new way. In this process education has an extremely important but not yet sufficiently recognized role to play. At the same time we must realize that school and institutionalized education are far from being as influential as say 40 or 50 years ago. There exist so many other competing educators that have an impact on young people. One of the strategies recommended in this paper is that school must establish closer co-operation with the positive elements among these "educators".

The threats to our future and our planet referred to above can be summarized in many ways. One can be the following.

3.1.1 Weapons of mass destruction, with nuclear weapons as the most frightening

Although a worldwide disarmament has now started there are still nuclear weapons "saved" to the extent of being able to destroy the major part of human life and human civilisation. In a way the situation is still more alarming than before the East-West détente and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, when there was only one finger in the East with the power to press the nuclear weapon button.

Another frightening fact is that research and development of mass destruction weapons is still going on. Recently there have also – according to mass media information – been several indications that an "export" of know-how on nuclear weapons has now started from the former Soviet Union to other states which have the ambition to be members of the nuclear weapon family. This fact, in combination with a growing and in some cases fanatic nationalism, makes the situation more complicated and probably still more unsafe than before. Add to that the terrorism and the cynical trade in all kinds of weapons and we have to admit that it is highly motivated to say that the threat of mass destruction calls for intensive attention.

As for nuclear power in general another risk – at least from a European horizon – has also to be mentioned, namely the nuclear plants in the Eastern parts of Europe. Their safety devices are evidently and, according to several

TV and newspaper reports, alarmingly insufficient. In many European countries the memory of Tjernobyl is still strong and frightening.

3.1.2 The destruction of the global environment

To expand thoroughly on this topic is probably not necessary. It is enough to mention, among other things, the pollution of soil, water and air, global warming and deforestation. It seems, fortunately, as if in many countries a greater awareness of the ecological dangers has developed in recent years. Likwise a process to arrive at international agreements on the environmental threats has started, as illustrated by the World Environmental Conference in Brazil. However, the process is very slow and the positive actions taken to eliminate the risks of a global ecological collapse are far from sufficient. Here, as well, mankind has many obstacles of ignorance and egoism to overcome. What we are witnessing is a real and dangerous race with time.

3.1.3 The demographic situation of the planet

It is a well-known and frightening fact that the world population is increasing very rapidly: one billion in 1830, three billion in 1930, five today, more than six at the turn of the century and eight in 2020. And not only that. At the turn of the century half of the world population will be younger than 25 years and a quarter younger than 15. We can only hope that there are reasons for believing that those scientists and experts are right who avow that our planet has the capacity to feed all these human beings. What is wrong and frightening is the unjust distribution of the wealth of the world and the way in which we use our resources. Saying that I have already touched upon my second main concept.

3.2 The Absurd

It is also a well-known (and accepted?) fact that about twenty percent of the world population is suffering from hunger and malnutrition. In the big and overcrowded world cities, especially in Latin America, millions of children live in social destitution, without homes and parents who can take care of them, children who are forced to earn their living by begging, theft and prostitution. In some places children are hunted and killed like rats.

17 million individuals live today as refugees in foreign countries. The economic gap between the industrial and the developing countries is still enormously wide. Illiteracy is extremely high, particularly in Africa, where it is still growing. The daily water supply per person in the developing

countries is on average estimated at 20 litres and in the industrialized countries at 380 litres. Every minute 30 children die from hunger or hunger-related illness. In that same minute the world, at least until recently, spends 1.8 million dollars on fabrication of weapons. According to "Our Common Future" ("The Brundtland Report") an action plan for tropical forests would cost 1.3 billion dollars a year over the course of five years. This annual sum is the equivalent of half a day of military expenditure.

Facts and figures of the kind I have mentioned above are examples of what I call the absurdity of our time. (These facts and figures, probably well known by everyone who is dealing with global issues, are mainly based on "Our Common Future".) They are absurd whether we use our own human common sense as a yardstick or the whole set of conventions, declarations and recommendations on human rights, which has been decided upon by the world society through the United Nations during recent decades (Thelin, 1989, 1992).

3.3 The Relevant

What can – with the above mentioned facts as background – be a more relevant and central task for education to deal with than the issues of our future and the conditions of our continued existence? Besides, several research results indicate that many young people are apprehensive of the future of mankind and also disillusioned and fearful that the adult generation doesn't care about what happens with this space-ship called Earth. There are also indications that their knowledge on global issues does not primarely emanate from school instruction but from the mass media with their often superficial, fragmentary and frightening way of presenting facts. (Cf. Ankarstrand-Lindström, 1984; Bergström et al., 1991; Billesbølle et al., 1986; Chivian, 1986; Raundalen & Raundalen, 1984.)

4 Peace Education in Sweden – Experiences and Examples

4.1 Some General Notes

In this section some experiences and examples of peace education in Sweden during the 80s will be presented. However, before describing this work a terminological clarification is motivated. In its efforts to define peace education the Swedish National Board of Education (NBE) adopted the so-called positive concept of peace. While negative peace, according to the classic Galtung definition, denotes the absence of open, armed violence,

positive peace is a more pretentious concept. It also requires the absence of "structural violence", i.e. economic, political and cultural oppression. It is worth noting that this positive peace concept is in great accordance with the goals and guidelines of the centrally issued Swedish curricula although there does not exist any causal connection between them.

Another thing to emphasize is the "macro perspective" of the "official" peace education in Sweden. The initiatives and activities on peace education had their roots in the cold war and the fear of a nuclear weapons catastrophe. A central concern of those involved was: what contribution can *we* make to avoid a catastrophe and safeguard the peace? This – certainly a bit naive – question can be regarded as a mirror of the foreign policy of Sweden as a non-aligned state between the two blocks. Peace education could so far be described as a mini-variant of the foreign policy of the country.

On the other hand, what I would call the micro perspective of peace education played a very modest role. Of course, conflict solution exercises and nonviolence education were and are natural elements in education and also prescribed in the curricula. But such elements in the school were not, at least not by the responsible officials within the NBE, called peace education. It is also in agreement with the macro level aspect that the NBE first and formost concentrated its interest on the secondary and upper secondary level, where the students are suffiently mature to discuss international conflicts and global issues.

4.2 Models and Strategies

In Sweden as in many other countries the political tension between the two superpowers – reaching its peak at the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s – gave rise to different peace movements. During the first years of the 80s the NBE also began more actively to support peace education initiatives in Swedish schools. Before then peace education, in the rather few schools where it occurred, was entirely dependent on the personal commitment and ideas of individual teachers.

The intention of the NBE was to legitimize peace education and to give it some status and structure. That a state authority took such an initiative was at this time evidently unusual among Western democracies (Bjerstedt, 1988). (It hopefully goes without saying that the peace education concept in Sweden was something quite different from the official so-called peace education which existed in the communist dictatorships as indoctrinating instruments.)

The methods used by the NBE to carry out its intention were first of all to pin-point relevant parts of the Swedish curricula where concepts like human

rights, development, solidarity and peace had, and still have, a strong position, especially in the so-called goals and guidelines. It was also important to highlight and distribute international documents from the U.N. and Unesco, where the "Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding" (1974) holds a particular position as something like a Bible for all kinds of peace education. Another "legitimizing" source which was sent out was a recommendation from the Council of Europe on human rights education.

Publishing of a so-called service material on peace education in 1985 (English translation 1986) was an important contribution to both the initial and further training of teachers. Although it was mainly used by teachers who already had a great interest in this field it nonetheless gave this almost unknown subject official authority. Another element in the strategy for introducing peace education and giving it a recognized position in the schools was to run conferences and courses for teachers, and particularly for teacher trainers. The last mentioned category is, of course, a real key group for implementing new elements in the curriculum.

In order to strengthen peace education the NBE also initiated co-operation with international humanitarian organizations such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross, Save the Children, the United Nations Association of Sweden, SIDA (the Swedish International Development Authority), the Swedish UNICEF Committee and others. Although each of these organizations has its individual goal and profile, they are all fighting for humanitarian values, human rights, compassion and solidarity with the oppressed and weak. From this point of view they share those values which are of basic importance in the education and fostering of young individuals, values which are very clearly formulated in the Swedish curricula, for instance that "it is the duty of each individual to try to alleviate the pain, suffering and degradation of other people" (Lgr 80, p. 16).

Beside this common basic attitude of values, practical cooperation also has been developed on arranging workshops and the publishing of reports and in-service materials. Also of special value is that the Olof Palme Memorial Foundation allocates an annual sum to be distributed to schools especially committed to initiatives on international contacts, international understanding and antiracism.

Worth mentioning also is the support that was given by the NBE to the so-called Great Peace Journey. This was a popular project in 1985-1987 initiated by women from the Nordic countries which grew into an extensive international enterprise. Internationally composed delegations visited or

contacted all the UN member states with five questions based on the UN Charter on limitations of military movements, weapons of mass destruction, weapon exports, basic human needs and conflict resolution. The NBE assisted the project by distributing information materials to all schools in Sweden and in this way sanctioned the project. The support of this project is an obvious indication of the macro character of the Swedish peace education.

It has also been of great importance for the development of peace education in Sweden that, from a very early state, close cooperation was reached between the NBE and the Department of Education and Research at Malmö School of Education – University of Lund. This department is the only institution of pedagogics in Sweden specialised in education on issues like international understanding, human rights and peace. The head of this department, Professor Åke Bjerstedt, is at present chairman of the Peace Education Commission of IPRA, International Peace Research Association.

In 1988 the NBE published an "Action Programme for Internationalization of Education". It was, among other things, an appeal for stronger attention in curriculum and education to such issues as peace, human rights and environment. The term internationalization was used as more or less tantamount to global ethics and solidarity. The financal contribution requested by the NBE was refused by the government. But it is likely that this action programme, which was sent out to all schools in the country, gave further support and inspiration to intensifying instruction on global issues.

4.3 Present Trends of Internationalization of the School in Sweden

It has probably been clear from what has been written so far that the activities described to some degree, so to speak, belong to history because of the fact that the NBE has now been discontinued. Although its successor, the National Agency for Education, has taken over and proceeded with some parts of the work, especially evaluation, it seems at present not quite clear how many of the activities will survive. The National Agency as a whole has by and large been entrusted with other responsibilities in the decentralizing process Sweden is now passing through. All the more important then is that the present peace education initiatives will remain and develop at the local level and in the individual schools.

Independent of the mentioned administrative reform, some changing tendencies are quite visible. Concurrently with the end of the cold war the interest in peace education has been reduced. At least this is the case with the East-West perspective of peace education in Sweden. Peace education now

shares the same confusion that seems to have hit the peace movement (and the military defence!) as a whole. Where is the big enemy now and from where come the military threats?

True to say, however, is that the Gulf War gave rise to a new, momentary interest in peace education. Mostly this interest was concentrated on the question of how the teachers could calm and console children frightened by the massive reporting including many pictures from the Gulf war they were watching on TV. But this concern indicates indeed a very limited concept of what peace education stands for.

Instead of peace education, environmental education has come into the forefront, which in itself is a positive trend. An important although not yet sufficiently observed phenomenon is, however, that topics on peace and on environment are closely connected. This can be illustrated in many ways from the history of war such as the Vietnam and Gulf wars (Finger, 1991; Thelin, 1991, pp. 25 ff.). Human rights can serve as a mediating link between the two. They are violated both through war and and through environmental cynicism and destruction. Soveto, the massacre in South Africa in 1976, and Seveso, the environmental catastrophe in Italy the same year, can be mentioned as examples of this connection. Peace, environment and human rights together form the basis for what I will call an education for global survival and global ethics.

The immigrant and refugee situation is a further current problem with great implication for education. Increasing unemployment always means a risk for xenophobia and racism in a country with many immigrants. Recently even Sweden, although unemployment there is low in the European context, has been exposed to serious manifestations of such attitudes. This has led to a stronger emphasis in the schools on instruction for international understanding and antiracism. These efforts will probably be even stronger in the future, when and if the waves of refugees and immigrants increase. It would also mean that what I have called peace education on the micro level will be linked closer to the macro level. Whether the reason for immigrants and refugees to knock at our door is political, economic (poverty) or evironmental, it reflects international – not to say global – circumstances of our world today.

It would also mean that the peace education initiatives which at the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s were caused by East-West tension at least to some degree will now be motivated by the North-South tension. At the same time it must be said that the trends are not that simple and clear. Since the beginning of the 60s, education on the Third World has been a

growing interest among many devoted teachers, although it has rarely been called peace education, but more often international education.

Besides, there is at present a strong trend in education, supported by the conservative ministry of education, to concentrate on Europe, i.e. "Europe knowledge", modern languages, exchanges of teachers and students etc. The concept of internationalization of education with its earlier strong global and solidarity aspect tends now to be limited to "European internationalism". Internationalization in education some years ago could, as mentioned, be characterized as a mirror of the Social Democrats' foreign policy with its ambition to play a role in the world arena. In the same way the present school trends concerning internationalization reflect the ambitions of the present foreign policy, led by the conservative party to be an influential actor on the European stage. To call this effort to "europeasize" the Swedish school peace education would hardly be accepted by the two present ministers of education.

5 An Education for Global Survival

With the three concepts from section 3 above, the Unique, the Absurd, the Relevant, and the examples and experiences presented in section 4, I will now present some thoughts on what I call education for global survival.

5.1 Knowledge, Feeling, Action

Already from an early stage of the development of peace education the words Knowledge, Feeling and Action were used by the NBE to characterize peace education. Today this constellation is frequently used by several groups, schools and associations as something of a slogan not only for denoting peace education in its original form but also for a broader concept including environment and human rights. It is therefore appropriate to expand a little on these terms, especially as they are useful as key- words for an education for global survival.

Both different peace movements and advocates of peace education were earlier often attacked by military and politically conservative critics for lacking real knowledge of what it was all about. It has often been stated that "the peace people" were geared only by their emotions, that they were naive and unrealistic. This is a criticism which, to some degree, has hit environmental movements and their advocates as well. The criticism has not been entirely without ground. Flag-waving and singing children from

primary and pre-primary schools as participants of demonstrations were – at least in some cases – probably a drawback for the peace activists.

For the NBE it was an important element of the strategy of introducing peace education in schools to underscore the necessity of objective facts and to make the subject intellectually respected. The same goes for environmental issues. In other words, to disseminate *knowledge* is of basic importance. Having said this, it is necessary to take two further steps.

The first one is almost of a trivial character. Both peace and environment are study fields encompassing a complex of facts and knowledge from several academic disciplines. This, of course, has consequences for the handling of these matters in education. Cooperation between teachers, and team teaching, seem to be the best and most effective way of solving the didactic problems, albeit such arrangements in themselves are combined with some practical and even psychological obstacles.

The second step has to do with the very nature of the facts in question or, in other words, with the threats to our survival as they are summarized, for instance, in section 3.1 above. We are here dealing with existential questions in the original meaning of this word. Everyone who seriously tries to make her- or himself familiar with them is not likely to be unmoved. In one way or another these facts arouse *feelings*, be it indignation, anxiety, fear, wrath or whatever. From my own lecturing for teachers at in-service workshops I have often noticed reactions of this kind. To find the correct balance between escapism and alarmism is on the whole a tricky business. It is, of course, particularly urgent in education to adapt instruction to the level and the maturity of the pupils and above all not to frighten them.

On the other hand one has to bear in mind that children, particularly through mass media, are exposed to many frightening, anxiety-inducing impressions and bits of information, whether questions of war, violence and environmental catastrophes are approached in school or not. It is if anything the duty of schools to help children to process and come to terms with negative feelings of this kind.

It is also of greatest importance to channel such feelings, whatever they are, into productive paths and thus use them as a power and resource for positive and hopeful activities. Saying this I have passed over to the third concept, *action*. There is now a good deal of experience in Swedish schools – certainly not at all something unique for Sweden – of an action-oriented international education. Examples of such activities are charity work and sister or twin schools in the developing countries, cooperation with humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross, Save the Children, Amnesty

International etc., and also with different environmental groups and organizations.

To some degree these activities can be regarded as some kind of therapy for pessimism about the future of our planet which we know can exist among young people. Positive activities are likely to counteract such attitudes (cf. Raundalen & Raundalen, 1984). But more important is to see them as practical and concrete education for responsibility and solidarity. Of course, one has also to look at what the concrete results imply for the receivers, a village, a school, a hospital etc. in a developing country or in some destitute region in the Eastern part of Europe.

It should be added that activities of this kind are also good, albeit unconventional, ways to knowledge. For example, an entire senior level class from a compulsory school in a rural district in Sweden – and the case is not unique – travelled to a village in Poland and delivered a lorry cargo with clothing and foods personally. "That week taught us more than a whole school year at home," was quite a common verdict from the pupils afterwards. It has also been certified by teachers and students I have met that action oriented education of this kind creates a positive atmosphere in a school and a feeling of solidarity and good fellowship.

5.2 Concluding Reflections

"Après nous la déluge" was a locution in France in the decades before the great revolution. Is mankind today in the same position? Are we dominated by the same escapist thinking and half-hearted counter-measures?

To find a simple answer of yes or no to this question is, of course, impossible. Answers and attitudes vary from one (thinking) individual to another. It is, by the way, an interesting question in itself – both from a psychological and a pedagogical point of view – why some individuals are deeply concerned about the global issues and others apparently don't care at all. Anyhow, it is impossible to deny that the warning signals are strong and frequent. It is hard to believe that they are all false or exaggerated.

One day, if the future is long enough, perhaps historians will wonder at the apparent slightness of the impact on everyday human life of the unique and terrifying human dilemma mankind at present is facing. The natural reaction ought really to be for far more people to be worried about "our common future" than is apparently the case. Only then can vigorous countermeasures be applied with wide popular support, even if they are inconvenient and, in the superficial and short-term perspective, detract from our accustomed material prosperity.

Of special interest for us are the attitudes of pedagogical researchers. From my own country I have the impression that the issues on the destiny of mankind and the future of our planet still have a low priority – with the only exception mentioned on page 8. A brief look at the programme catalogues from the AERA conferences in Boston 1990 and Chicago 1991 – the only ones available to me at the moment – has not given the impression that any special attention is being paid to these issues. Can it really be so that educational scientists are more or less indifferent towards these issues? And if this is the case, how can it be? "The survival of mankind as an educational problem"; wouldn't this be a highly interesting question to take up? A real challenge! Or is this topic too extensive and far-reaching?

Certainly, there are many obstacles, which have to be overcome, before we can talk about something that could be called education for global survival. But there are also many interesting problems to investigate. Some have already been touched upon. More can be mentioned. How to tackle attitudes of scepticism and suspicion? Isn't there a risk of "politicization" of the school? How to create awareness among pupils – and teachers – without frightening them? How to manage the numbing and acclimatization we are all exposed to?

The questions raised above, presented here only as examples, indicate the need of more research and development work in order to get a grip on the problems we are facing when dealing in education with issues concerning the future and the destiny of mankind. Of course, issues of this kind have, in all times, been important components in education, especially in religion and philosophy. But they have been treated in an abstract and hypothetical way. Our present situation has made them concrete, naked and dangerous in a way which requires an entirely new type of education. Humankind is back again to an original phase of its history, when all education was focused on just one thing – survival.

Beside researchers there is – although on the practical level – another category of great importance for promoting global issues, namely the school principals. (In Sweden we often call them school leaders.) Because of the above-mentioned decentralizing trend, their influence on the development work within their schools will increase. A research inquiry made to all Swedish "school leaders" during 1990/91 indicated that they have a very positive attitude to strengthening global issues such as environment, peace, human rights and global solidarity in their schools. However, more than 80 percent of them declared that they didn't have sufficient competence and qualifications to play a leading role concerning such elements in education

(Internationalisering i skolans undervisning, 1991). It is also a matter of fact that elements of this kind are missing in their professional training. Nor have their trade unions demonstrated any particular interest in this field. Their ambitions regarding international questions seem to be focused on what I have called above "The European Internationalization". Where and when a real change takes place for growing emphasis on environment, peace, human rights and global solidarity still mainly depends on the individual teachers, the so called "fire-souls" (cf. Harris, 1992, p. 18). But, of course, there are also examples of "fire-souls" among the principals!

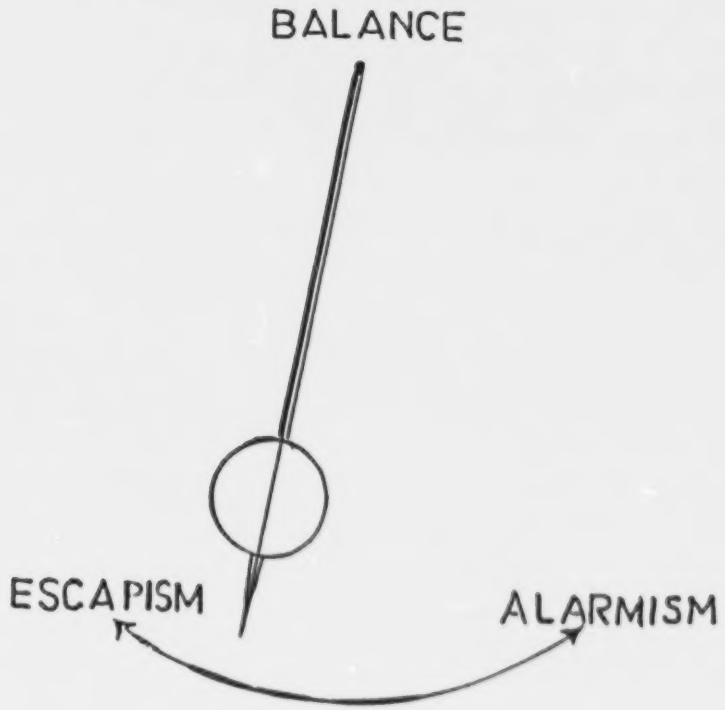
My personal view – if it is necessary to pin-point it after what has been said above – is that school and education lag behind in dealing with the existential questions on the future of our race and our planet. I am advocating nothing less than a pedagogical revolution, a new way of thinking and acting within education as an important contribution in order to bring about a new world order. The rich countries must take the lead. There is much applied research work, curriculum and other educational development and much painful and difficult rethinking needed in order to start up the changing process. One of the strategies is to establish closer cooperation between the institutional education and internationally oriented organizations as has been exemplified above, whether they are involved in charity work, human rights, peace or environmental protection. By the way it is on the whole encouraging to notice that so called NGO:s (Non-Governmental Organizations) in recent decades have obviously managed to aquire a growing influence on world issues, especially within the UN. An example was all the preparatory activities on the eve of the 1992 UN conference in Brazil.

Another strategy is action-oriented education, also briefly exemplified above. To run miniprojects of some kind on peace, human rights and the environment should be a permanent element in all schools, as natural as it was in former days to have a school garden for elementary and concrete instruction on how to cultivate the soil. Likewise here it should be a question of cultivating, namely international solidarity, global thinking and global ethics. "Learning by doing!" In no way should such international activities need to contrast those of a similar kind in the immediate surroundings. "Charity begins at home."

Of course, one has to be prepared for criticism for naivité, sentimental charity thinking and unrealistic idealism. In order to meet all this it is important to underscore that the ultimate reason why a new way of thinking and acting is urgent is not altruism but rather its opposite. Italy's rapid and

effective help to its close neighbour Albania in recent months can serve as a thought-provoking example. What was Italy's ultimate and very understandable motive?

There is a high probability that our world, the rich world, will experience many similar, much greater and much more shocking events in a future, not too remote, be it concerning environment, peace/war, overpopulation, refugees or whatever. How prepared will we and coming generations be mentally and morally? Has education here taken its full responsibility? One thing is certain – time is short. The adults of today will not be able, in the future – if there is a future – to reply in the words of parents in post-war Germany when their children, after learning about concentration camps and the extermination of the Jews, asked them why they had not done anything to stop it all: "We didn't know anything about it." We, the responsible generation of today, have all the knowledge we need for drawing the correct conclusions.



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part 2:
comparative studies

TRAGIC PAGES: HOW THE GDR, FRG AND JAPAN PROCESSED THEIR WAR HISTORY – LESSONS FOR EDUCATION FOR PEACE

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Why this topic?

Participating in many conferences related to peace and international relations I was confronted with the Japanese victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki many times. However just and sad their story was, I was struck by the absence of the awareness of Japanese aggression, which mainly caused the Pacific War. Moreover, experiencing the Japanese prisoners camps as a child in Indonesia, I felt irritated that Japan did not consider her own war acts nor her numerous victims in China, Korea, Philippines, etc. Reasons enough to question Japan's reluctance to deal with her own war history and to compare that to the way the Federal Republic of Germany and the former German Democratic Republic processed their war history.

Memories

Suddenly the Japanese soldiers, who guarded the prisoners camp, changed their attitudes. Though they were, generally speaking, not unkind to children, it had not been very pleasant being cooped up with our mothers in such a camp under Japanese military rule for several years. We children got sweets. Then, suddenly, they disappeared, and Ghurkas took their place and chased us away. Sometimes the Japanese soldiers came back for a while, a joyous moment. –

We moved with several families from the camp to a villa on the outskirts of Medan. Indonesian freedom fighters fought their righteous war of independence against us. They attacked the house. Rifle fire all around. Out of nowhere trucks with Japanese soldiers emerged and whilst shooting back surrounded the house. The next day early in the morning my friend and I, full of excitement, looked for the dead. To our disappointment we couldn't find one, but bullets had hit almost every brick of the house. –

On the occasion of the International Peace Research Association and the Summer School of the International Institute on Peace Education I took part in their meetings in Kyoto and Tokyo in the summer of 1992. There I unfolded my opinion about Japan's attitudes towards the war for an audience of Japanese teachers and researchers. For some of my old Japanese fellow

researchers it was the first time that they became aware of my own war history. In very honest and open sessions we came to the common conclusion that much still has to be done in Japanese education in order to achieve a true account of Japan's war history. I would like to thank all those teachers and researchers for their attention and their suggestions, in particular Tosio Kaneika, Toshifumi Murakami, Mitsuo Okamoto and Yoshikazu Sakamoto.

1.1 History

Memories are history. History consists of more than memories: it has to reveal the whole of knowledge about the past acquired through research. When people, however, started to talk, they commenced to tell stories and tales. They told their narratives to their children. The old men and women told the tales of the group, the tribe, the people to the new generations. They told about the past. Hence history is a narration. Often it is a grand-narration about a nation, a town, a village, a family or a person. Over time the narration changes and adapts new elements. If the narrative has to help to implant fear or to warn about dangers the story tellers gradually add through the times horrible and awkward characteristics and moments: the "Blue Beard history". Once something terrible happened. There are modern Blue Beards: Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, Saddam Hussein and others.

Most tales became myths serving other purposes. They have to show the importance, the nobility, the cultural, scientific and technical achievements of a nation. The self-image of a nation has to be positive if its people are to obtain a positive self-image. For no society can hope to survive if its citizens have a negative self-image. It would become extinct. "Every nation a Nobel Prize winner" – that wouldn't be bad, if the prize could be carefully disseminated whilst keeping up its prestige.

Grand-narratives contribute to the glory of the people concerned. In combination with these stories we show our glorious past in our museums and libraries. Altogether they foster our self-image and they make us self-confident. In the deepest part of our souls we think: "It is fine to be..." – in my case "Dutch", but we won't say it aloud. We have to be careful not to overestimate ourselves. In a Western pattern of a Calvinist back-ground that is bad behavior. Nonetheless we think the same as those who have no cultural constraints about proclaiming this from the housetops.

Could we consider the grand-narration of history as a single but loud clarion call, the meta-narration of history is the deafening loudness of a music under which every other sound of the critical voice is silenced. The priest-king; the king-god; the emperor the descendent of the sun goddess; the

king and the viceroy as the representatives of god on earth; the Sun King; the people of the sun; the chosen people; ancestors of... All these expressions mystify history and make it indisputable. No matter the nature of the historical events: crimes, failures, conceitedness, imaginative heroism.

On the one side grand-narrations give, have to give, people some self-confidence and a positive self-image. At the same time their simple facts have useful effects on the stability of the society and its institutions. On the other hand history has to expose such grand-narrations. Such grand-narrations do not occur independently, but are encapsulated in a cultural and political system. History in the Twentieth Century was often subject to misuse though, whilst it wittingly consisted of grand-narrations and served myths. Both the Communist system and Japan have systematically used history to fashion their own myths and to drill historians in their service (Geyl, 1954). From this perspective the other side of history, its negative and abominable appearance, cannot be accepted and must be suppressed. Now the meta-narrator appears with his meta-narrations. These meta-narrations of history submit people to the tyranny of the meta-narrators. They need to obscure history for their own interests: power and enrichment by keeping the people simple, credulous and stupid.

History, however, has to be critical without any fear of the past and without catering to people or nation. For we cannot understand and clarify the present without connecting it with the history and its motives of the recent past. Such a history is complex by its nature, but not unprincipled and therefore leading to relativism. (1) History, although we never will know the true history, can help us to understand the world where we live. Therefore, history should open the book of our past also, reading aloud our tragic pages and exposing our myths. The way, however, through which we use history for this purpose is decisive for the new generations.

1.2 Three Narrations

Aggression, terror, oppression, systematic and unsystematic extermination of other people, mad leaders and docile people, who followed their leaders into their undoing – these are not a very popular historical inheritance of a nation. Indeed, the nations who started World War II have such a past. (2)

Three narrations about this war and the time which preceded that war will be discussed. These narrations are: (i) the role and effects of anti-fascist education in the former German Democratic Republic (3); (ii) political education in the Federal Republic of Germany and questions about the knowledge of the Germans then about Hitler and his regime; (iii) the

function of a hostile world concerning the past of Japan.

Each nation has dealt and is still dealing with its past in its own specific way. The war issue in each country is still very sensitive. Hence it is not an easy history that we have to understand.

2.1 A Re-created Anti-fascist History

Ideological historiography needs a re-created history and does not have the need to represent the reality of the past. The starting-point of Communist historiography demanded from its historians a partiality which had to be on a par with the policies of the ruling party. At the 2nd Party Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the ruling party in the GDR, the historians received instructions (see: Protokoll der Verhandlungen der II. Parteikonferenz ..., 1952, p. 120): (i) to develop patriotic awareness, pride in the great traditions of the nation of the GDR; (ii) to make clear the meaning of the scientific study of German history with respect to her struggle for the national unity of Germany; and (iii) to make clear how the German nation protected its great traditions, in particular in the face of the aspirations of the American occupation to neglect the achievements of the people of the GDR. Such directives demanded that East German historians left no stone unturned as they rewrote every aspect of history, both national and international.

As Leo Stern explained it, the historians of the GDR were to underline the traditions of the German nation with respect to freedom and struggle back into the Middle Ages in order to demonstrate that "German history is rich in big and shining examples of courage, heroism, patriotism and devotion to the main interests of the German nation" (Stern, 1952, p. 1). The outcome for the East German historians was negative, because they had to reflect the present into the past. With every change in the present they had to reconsider the whole history. As a result, old famous historical figures like Martin Luther and Frederik the Great became revolutionary leaders of the peasants and workers. In a history textbook for pupils, World War I became a heroic struggle of the "middle-powers" (Mittelmächten), Germany and Austria-Hungary, against the "imperialist powers" of England, France and Russia. Moreover the ruling classes of the imperialist powers aspired to divide the German colonies (see: Gutsche, 1976, p. 9). Although the author did not say that Germany was fighting an anti-imperial, not anti-colonial war, the suggestion was rather clear that historical right was on the side of Germany.

The main problem for the East German historians was the description of the history of their own state. In particular Stalinism and the Stalinist

purifications of the German Communists both before and after the communist takeover by the SED caused them many problems. The revolt of the 17th of June 1953 could not be sufficiently treated unless the event was characterized as a Western attempt to destroy the GDR. All these issues concerned only the political history of the GDR, leaving out the economic and social history of the country.

2.2 Anti-fascist Education in the GDR

The answers in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to German war crimes were found in the anti-fascist education. In particular the so called "Jugendweihe" – initiation ritual of the youth of the GDR – was one of the most important aspects of the extracurricular education of youth. Almost 90% of the youth aged 14 and 15 took part in this event (Wiegmann, 1991, p. 402). The aim of the "Jugendweihe" was to teach the youth about the history of the anti-fascist resistance in Germany. Also in school much attention was given to the anti-fascist resistance of the Germans. Anti-fascist education had three main aims.

Such education wanted to confront pupils with the anti-fascist tradition of the GDR. In particular it focussed on the representatives of the Communist resistance against Hitler. The anti-fascist past of the GDR's own leaders was sketched out for the whole population of the GDR. Although in the eighties other groups apart from Communists were also identified as being anti-fascist, the main focus was on the Communist role in the resistance to Hitler and the Nazis. It held up resistance fighters, like Walter Ulbricht, Erich Honecker, Wilhelm Pieck and others, as examples of anti-fascism. Thus far this method of anti-fascist education can be compared with the inclination of peace education to focus on so called "peace heroes". The history of the GDR started with 1945, at the "hour zero", and concealed behind that the belief of a totally new start (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 3). Hence the GDR could not enter upon its duty to present a fair and honest historical image of the German past. On the contrary it pictured itself as the heir and solicitor of the historical anti-fascist movement, while the FRG had to be seen as the successor of the old fascist Germany.

Secondly by defining fascism in mere social-economic terms, i.e. as a phenomenon of the capitalist and imperialist ideology, the reinforcement of the anti-capitalist proprietary relations of the decisive means of production in the GDR could make it believe in the extermination of fascism within its own borders. On the other hand anti-fascist education had to saddle the FRG with the inheritance of Nazism and German responsibility for the war. In

this way it had to foster hostility in order to achieve solidarity and unity.

The final aim of anti-fascist education, however, was the creation of an unconditionally loyal citizen. Anti-fascist education had to mould faithful civic virtue and a true belief in the state.

2.3 Failing Education

Anti-fascist education in the GDR turned out to be a disaster. The educational approach caused a supersaturation of the history of the Communist resistance. It was one-sided, i.e. the focus was anti-capitalist and anti-western, and concentrated on the anti-fascist heroism of the GDR's own Communist leaders. The prominent Nazi leaders became caricatures. Therefore it prevented youngsters from understanding the complexity of the history of fascism. Problems of "Führerkult" (leadership cult of Hitler in particular) and the seduction of the German population could not be transferred to the youngsters either emotionally or rationally (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 9). Also the contradictions of the past which arose from the continuation of totalitarianism, although in a different shape, could not be solved. For the GDR continued the German militarist tradition through a militarist patriotic education (Wehrausbildung) (4) which was strongly related to the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. Moreover the aim of the state doctrine – to establish a socialist-communist future – did not give pupils a wide enough range to elaborate and digest the national-socialist inheritance.

Many citizens of the GDR, such as the parents and later the grandparents of the pupils, had, however, been brought up in the period of the "Drittes Reich" (Third Empire). Their repressed recognition of the responsibility of their generation for the rise of fascism prevented grandchildren from asking their grandparents about their own past. Such a negation also avoided research into the past by the pupils themselves. For there was no national-socialism on their own threshold. The myth could emerge that the GDR had processed her national-socialist history and with that had got over the risk of a re-emergance of fascism. On the other hand it condemned the West as the fertile womb for a rebirth of fascism.

If we analyze both the aims of education in the GDR and the effects of this education on the different generations which have been educated by that system, a precarious picture emerges. The Communist regime of the GDR was unpopular with its own population. On the one hand whilst it failed to set the right example itself it preached something else. Therefore it became incredible and a falsehood. What can people believe then? They will incline

to believe the opposite. Hence the interpretation in the GDR of Nazism as a product of imperialism and capitalism, which were the main characteristics of the Federal Republic of Germany, gained a different meaning. The citizens of the GDR were able to look at the FRG because of television. There they saw everything, both political and economical, that they wanted to obtain too. Fascism, therefore, could not be as bad as their own incredible politicians tried to present it.

The history of the GDR and the Communist party (SED) reveals many so-called "white spots", in particular about the tragic fate of the German Communist victims of Stalinist purges. In connection with the Hitler-Stalin-Pact hundreds of German Communists were extradited to the Gestapo. Many of them were sent into former concentration camps (Weber, 1990, p. 6) where they had to work under bad conditions. Furthermore the historians in the GDR failed to discuss the role of the Communists in the process of the abolition of the Weimar Republic (Verbeeck, 1990, p. 37). That, among others, opened the door for Hitler. As a result a comparative history of fascist movements was bound to come.

The contradictions between the former Germany and the GDR created by the Communist regime could not be understood, because of the continuation of totalitarianism and the aversion of many to both the rituals of the state and the military patriotic traditions and education. The GDR had to neglect the Nazist idea of totalitarianism.

The main result of these negative images about their own nation related to the issue of fascism is rather ominous. Because of the neglect of the totalitarian elements of Nazism, history in the GDR was useful as a mechanism of repression and relativism concerning Nazism and fascism. Fascism as associated with the desired West and the rejected home country became almost harmless. In other words, rightist, extremist youth in the former GDR are the product of the societal developments in the country. Inflicted anti-fascism has also contributed to such developments. In 1991 we could observe the effects of anti-fascist education starting. It started in the city of Hoyerswerda in the former GDR when extreme rightist skinheads and other neo-Nazis attacked foreigners while shouting fascist slogans. The specific experience of Hoyerswerda was that the police just watched and later on carried away the black foreigners and not the white aggressors.

3.1 Working up World War II in the FRG

The way the FRG perceived the way she has to deal with World War II has been phrased in terms of work. "Trauerarbeit" (mourning work), "auf-

arbeiten" (working up), a connotation of Mitscherlich, who argued that the Germans were not able to mourn, and "durcharbeiten" (working through) are characteristic terms when it comes to the past of the war. Hence the process of working up the dreadful episode of Hitler took a different course in the Federal Republic of Germany. The GDR and the other East European states considered the FRG as the heir of the former Germany and she entered upon her duties to accomplish this role.

The core of the digestion of the Nazi era in the Federal Republic of Germany can be found in three important areas of education and society: (i) political education, (ii) information through the mass media, and (iii) history.

3.2 Political Education

The Americans started up political education based on their idea of re-education (Kuhn & Massing, 1989). The United States perceived education as the best tool for achieving democracy in the FRG. That idea originated from their own educational tradition oriented on the theories and practices of John Dewey, who argued that democracy was not only a political system (5), but also a way of life, which has to be learned. From this perspective the educational pre-war system of Germany had contributed to the rise of national-socialism.

The Allies made a first significant step in August 1945 when they gathered in Potsdam and agreed that a democratic approach in education should be made possible and should be connected with the democratization of public life. The Land of Hessen took the first step among the West German federal states. In September 1949 it organized a conference on the introduction of political science at the university with the participation of experts from France, England and the USA.

After this first start other Länder (plural of the German word "Land") followed with the introduction of political education. This was not easy, as is shown in a report of the annual conference of the ministers of education of the Länder in 1960, the so-called "Kultusministerkonferenz". The report stated that although there were teachers who recognized that learning to live with the recent past was an important aim of political education, other teachers neglected that past because of a lack of courage and knowledge or because of furtive sympathy with the idea of national-socialism. This reaction came because of anti-Semitic events in 1959, i.e. the smearing of swastikas on a synagogue by youngsters.

The main question in the discussion about political education, however,

became more and more how education could prevent the Germans from starting anew on wrong political tracks. Rather soon in the first years after the war, the anti-Nazi attitude altered into an anti-totalitarian consensus. This happened not because of highly successful political education, but as a result of the emerging Cold War. As a consequence national-socialism and Communism coincided.

Looking at political education, two options could be considered (6): (i) an approach directed towards civic education, and (ii) political education, focussed also on totalitarian mechanisms and global political developments. The whole picture of political education became rather varied depending on the Land.

In the Länder of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and Rheinland-Pfalz among others, political education inclined towards civic education. Considering that the general aim of school education was to instill in pupils such things as piety, charity and love for the nation and home, these states of the FRG changed political education into a kind of social studies. It aimed at good citizenship and the belief in freedom and dignity, and at independence of man as a person. These aims should be reached by inserting the person in society.

Other Länder such as Hessen and Nordrhein-Westfalen and city states like Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin introduced political education which was also connected by an interrelated curriculum with history and geography. Education in these Länder and cities aimed at educating youngsters amongst other things as moral personalities. It strived to create a feeling of political responsibility directed at serving the nation and mankind through respect, charity, tolerance, justice and veracity. The aim of political education is a cautious introduction of the youth into questions of the political present from which civic education should not be excluded (Hessen).

The differences are interesting if we look at the several curricula of these Länder and cities. In the approach of civic education the role of Nazism and fascism is never, or hardly ever, taken up. Bavaria, when it comes to state and politics, listed in its curricula the following issues: (i) the notion of state, (ii) democracy, (iii) political organization, (iv) the free state of Bavaria, (v) the FRG, (vi) the collective problem of Germany, (vi) international relations. Länder and cities with the approach of political education, on the contrary inserted the issue of Nazism and fascism in their curricula. Political education in Berlin for example includes the "Hitler leadership state", Indo-Germans, the notion of "Aryan" and racism.

The main difference between these two approaches to political education

can be found in the nature of the different Länder. The approach of civic education is the outcome of the conservative Christian Democratic forces which are ruling in particular the Länder in the south of the FRG. The Social-Democrat governed Länder and cities accepted the original idea of political education as the Allies had intended.

3.3 (Mass) Media

The (mass) media in the FRG have devoted much time to the events of World War II and the crimes of the Nazis. Already in the fifties the first novels about fascism appeared in the FRG, such as "Sansibar" by Alfred Andersch and the famous novel by Günter Grass "Die Blechtrommel". Much earlier studies about the war were published, like "Stalingrad" by Theodor Plevier and Eugen Kogon's "SS-Staat", which were both issued in 1945. Other writers were Erich Fromm, Ernst Bloch, Alexander Mitscherlich and Hannah Arendt. (7)

Radio and television, however, have played an important function in conveying information on fascism and the war to the general public. Many documentaries, radio plays, documentary plays and television adaptations of theater plays, novels, etc. have been broadcast. Radio, in particular, merits particular praise for its critical representation of fascism in Germany.

The main breakthrough in the mass media discussion about fascism and the war was caused by the American television series "Holocaust", which was broadcast the 22nd, 23rd, 25th and 26th of January 1979 by the Third Program of the ARD. Even when that series could be seen only on the screens of the USA in the early summer of 1978, the discussion about it burst out in the FRG. The critics were rather negative and there was already a lot of resentment in the FRG against the series. Because of that and a 1968 agreement between the Adolf Grimme Institute of the German Highschools Association, the Federal Center for Political Education and the State Center for Political Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen to spread information and conduct teaching about the Holocaust, the German Television decided to develop a number of specially prepared backup programs for the series. Thus in the same month of its being broadcast in the FRG, television also showed two documentaries about anti-Semitism and the holocaust.

What were the effects of the television broadcast of "Holocaust" in the FRG? In the first place a vehement discussion about the series burst out. Many were very critical about the characters in the television play and about dramatizing the Holocaust. On the other hand, as the French newspaper Figaro noticed on the 12th of February, many watched the series with their

families. Furthermore the purchase of the series had been a political decision, because the television companies were at first not interested in buying it. An interesting question was also raised by many Germans: why did the Americans create the series and not the Germans? Or: "How can a nation which once produced Goethe and Beethoven amongst others come to terms with the fact that it also created Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich and Auschwitz, the nadir of human history?" (Utgenannt, 1979.)

It might be an attempt to solve this burning question, alongside the feeling arising from the bombardment of transmissions about the German past, which provided the background for the emergence of a historical discussion, which had been going on, more or less underground, until then: the so-called "Historikerstreit". Hence "Holocaust" became the beginning of a new episode in the German retrospective of its atrocious past.

3.4 History

It took a long time before the idea that national-socialism and Communism were identical took shape among historians in the FRG. In 1980, after the broadcasting of the television series "Holocaust", the German historian Ernst Nolte held a lecture for the Carl-Friedrich-von-Siemens Foundation in Munich, the capital of the Land Bavaria. In this lecture he postulated that the Third Reich lent itself to a caricature: Hitler was created for Chaplin. History about that period was similarly catastrophic (Nolte, 1987, p. 15).

In his contribution to the discussion about German history Ernst Nolte carefully traced lines through history. In particular he joined, though critically, American and English historians A.J.P. Taylor, David Hoggan, Timothy W. Mason and David Irving. In his conclusion he pleaded for a removal of the isolation of the Third Reich. On the contrary, her history had to be linked to the radical changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

Until 1986 the discussion did not cause great controversy. In that year Michael Stürmer started an exchange with a short article in the newspaper the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Stürmer, 1986). He questioned the role of Germany in the past and its future responsibilities as a global political and economical power. Ernst Nolte replied in the same newspaper one month later, making a comparison between the Gulag Archipelago and Auschwitz. In his opinion the German murder should not be perceived as "the one and only murder" (see: Jäckel, 1987, p. 15), but should be placed besides other ones, in particular the Bolshevist one.

The subsequent fierce discussions in the German newspaper and the

expected reaction in the other European countries compelled the Foreign Ministry to inform its embassies about the debate. (8) In the introduction to the letter the Foreign Ministry also pointed to the visit of president Ronald Reagan and the chancellor of the federation Helmut Kohl to the cemetery in Bitburg in 1985. This visit was rather delicate since this cemetery is a major memorial to members of the feared SS (the national-socialist political and military organization), who had massacred a village in France. In addition the Ministry put forward some burning questions, which should be considered. Among others these questions were:

- "Are the crimes of the Nazi period unique or comparable to other mass murders in history, in particular in the USSR?"
- "Should historiography of national-socialism be historic or moralistic?"
- "Was Germany 'liberated' in 1945?"

How do we conceive this discussion, which blew over after a year? Did it really in fact blow over? The roots of the discussion go back to the so-called "Stunde Null" (Hour Zero), the moment Germany capitulated. Though the FRG accepted the responsibility for the war, by amongst other things adopting its program for "Wiedergutmachung" (recompensation), and its positive attitude toward re-education, many developed a "not me" point of view about the war and the question of the German guilt. It could be argued that during these years, because of re-education programs and the emergence of television, which paid much attention to the war, the FRG did not move in the direction of a nationalistic or conservative renaissance, nor strive to resurrect the ousted "Germanhood" of their fathers and grandfathers (Klages, 1987, p. 203).

The "Historikerstreit" as the Germans called the "struggle of the historians" was the indication of a new time. From then on the FRG tended to move in the direction of a postponed nationalistic and conservative renaissance. One of the questions to the embassies mentioned in the letter pointed to that possible development. It stated: "Should history offer a meaning, be an exponent of identity, and if so, how?" Stürmer pointed to the changed role of the FRG. Bitburg turned out not to be a mere incident. The chancellor of the federation, Helmut Kohl, reacted rather fiercely against criticisms about his reception in March 1992 of the Austrian president Waldheim, who had been accused of war crimes. In his reply Kohl referred to the changed role of "Germany" in the world and stated that "Germany" could decide herself whether she would accept a foreign guest. Moreover, growing attention was focussed on the resistance movement against the

Nazis. In particular the 20th of July 1944 attack on Hitler became the symbol of the resistance. Based on research on the teaching materials used in 1977, Schüddekopf came to the conclusion that despite many materials about the resistance they were rather insufficient, unsatisfactory and one-sided. Their focus was on the conservatives and not on the Communists and Socialists who resisted the Hitler regime (Schüddekopf, 1977, pp. 45-47).

4.1 Japan and World War II

In 1991, fifty years after December 7, 1941 when Japan attacked the American fleet in its base at Pearl Harbor, a dispute flared up between the USA and Japan about responsibility for World War II in the Far East. During this very confusing dispute the American president George Bush apologized for the treatment of about 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent who had been interned during the war. In return they got compensation for the grief they had endured. Hereupon the United States requested, as many other nations also did, that Japan herself should apologize for the acts of war. Successive Japanese Governments refused to do so. On the contrary, Japanese leaders demanded an American apology for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the West, little is known about the way that Japan has processed World War II. This can be imputed to the inaccessibility of the Japanese language. Indeed, in the domains in which the Japanese did process the war, i.e. literature, both fiction and non-fiction, Westerners only have access through translations. In contrast, in education the war is almost non-existent. Though in the mass media self-criticism about the war has been expressed by a number of citizens and citizens' organizations, the question remains why Japan did not really deal with the war which it started and which it fought until the very end.

Japan has not and does not intend to teach its youth proper knowledge about Japan's aggressive war, and she keeps her citizens ignorant about a caesura in its history. The Japanese Ministry of Education keeps out of the textbooks anything that can be considered as being against Japanese dignity. In 1982 the Ministry of Education approved new history textbooks, which described Japan's attempted conquest of China not as an "invasion" but as an "advance". (9) The Minister of Education, Masayuki Fujio, defended the Japanese history textbooks. He stated that the actions of the Japanese troops in Korea and China were not as bad as these countries said. Fortunately his Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, fired him; Fujio was representing the ideas of the most conservative part of the Japanese population and it was

significant that such a conservative could be in charge of Japanese education.

Japanese education and media do, however, continually stress the events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the first dropping of atomic bombs in the world. Moreover, they underline that the Americans dropped them above open cities, which were defenseless. For the Japanese, World War II started where it actually ended. Japanese peace educators are aware of this, but they can hardly change the present situation in education, because of the strong grip of the conservative Ministry of Education on textbook content. They recognized "the need to teach the history of Japanese military invasion of Asian countries, as well as the damaging experiences of the Japanese in the Second World War. Without a knowledge of the Japanese invasion and of neighbours' resistance to it, Japanese people cannot communicate well with Asian people concerning peace and war." (Murakami, 1992, p. 39.)

From a Western perspective it is very hard to grasp this situation. Westerners try to find explanations for the firm Japanese attitude not to accept the blame for the war. They try to understand why Japan does not want to perceive herself as the aggressor and therefore rejects or makes excuses for her war acts against humanity.

Hence, the attempt to reveal what Japan did, despite the efforts of many, particularly pacifist, peace groups to disseminate information about Japan's war acts, seems to be a hopeless task. So it seems necessary to look for the reasons why Japan has kept that piece of history away from her youth so sedulously. Two explanations stand out: (i) the cultural and (ii) the historical-political explanations.

4.2 The Cultural Explanation

Westerners have a feeling that they can hardly understand the Japanese. Japanese phenomena are puzzling to us. When it comes to World War II, the Japanese attitude again becomes enigmatic: kamikaze, suicidal soldiers, cruelties inflicted on military prisoners of war, the continuation of resistance in hopeless defensive positions, and the denial of the Japanese responsibility for the war.

The mystery of Japan leads to the search for cultural backgrounds in order to find an answer. One problem is that many cultural differences occur which are entangled in such a way that they can all serve the aim of explaining Japanese attitudes. Therefore only some can be discussed briefly: (i) Japan as a chauvinist society, (ii) Japan as a conformist society with a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, and (iii) Japan's inability to confess guilt.

In the years after the war, during the 50s and the 60s, there was an opposite trend to Japanese nationalist and chauvinist attitudes. These tendencies, however, were the precise cause for the conservatives' apprehension, which drove them in turn to adopt an educational policy which stresses the values of "nationalism" and "patriotism" and which reached its climax with some pronouncements of the Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. In 1983 he declared that the level of intelligence in the United States was not adequate. He referred that to the presence of Blacks, Puertoricans and Mexicans in that country. Later Nakasone tried to rectify himself, making things worse by explaining that Japan was a single racial country, which made it easier to turn out good students.

As I have already suggested, Japanese education plays an important role in passing on a rose-tinted picture of the Japanese horrors during the war. Before the war, Japanese education was the principle channel through which the conviction that young Japanese had to give their life for the expanding Japanese Empire was inculcated. After the war, the Japanese teachers' union opposed the idea of educating pupils in the love of the unaltered prewar symbols of flag and national anthem. Because of its supervision and control of textbooks the Government was able to tone down the previous rejection of the teachers of the old nationalism (van Wolferen, 1989, p. 137).

Japanese society "facilitated the persistence of a society characterized by a widespread acceptance of harmony and conformity as the nucleus of Japanese mentality" (Sakamoto, 1991, p. 20). This mentality found its translation into a political system which was difficult to understand. During the war there was no person – if we exclude the discussion of the role of the Emperor, Hirohito – who received a power which we can compare to the power of Hitler and Mussolini. The ruling elites of the country did not want to hand over power to the others. Although there were controversies among the elites, they kept them hidden for the others.

The strong conformist character of Japanese society made it difficult to alter the System. In education, the Americans succeeded in changing the structure of education into a mirror image of the American one, but they failed to change its educationally rigid character. The Americans held that the "real villain" behind Japan's imperialism was the excessive concentration of industrial wealth and power in the hands of the "zaibatsu" (Reischauer, 1977, p. 107). Therefore they dissolved the great zaibatsu firms and dispossessed the families who owned them. After the war more efficient corporations than the zaibatsu emerged, which are known as the "gurupu", but are virtually the successors of the zaibatsus.

The lack of a strong central government and traceable centers of power can also be seen as an inducement leading Japan inevitably towards the attack on the Western alliance and hence to the war. When, in September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army surprised the Chinese garrison of Mukden, the Japanese Government did not punish this act of insubordination. From then on fanatic Japanese army commanders could put Japan on the path which would lead to Pearl Harbor and, ultimately, to Hiroshima.

This is what Van Wolferen (op. cit., p. 91) calls "the System". The idea of "the System" without any individual responsibility did not occur to McArthur and the Americans after the surrender of Japan. They looked for the leaders and they selected a number (precisely twenty-eight from all the hundreds of retainers who had served the Throne in the previous two decades) of militarists for trial, and they were duly convicted by the Tokyo Tribunal. On the one hand they dissolved the old zaibatsus. On the other hand they breathed life into new ones. Hence they gave them the opportunity to reorganize themselves, using another name, and to chop away needless and superfluous dry wood.

What disturbs most Westerners about the Japanese is that they seem to have little or no feeling of guilt. This is the third so-called cultural element, which I would like to discuss. Buruma (de Waard, 1992) points to this aspect of Japanese culture, referring to the Confucian heritage. Unlike Christianity, which has a tradition of confessing guilt, Confucianism, which is not a religion, but a code of rules and conventions, has a tradition of shame. In Christianity one has to confess guilt. On the contrary, in Japan one has to avoid breaking the taboo – i.e. for example discussing the responsibility of the Emperor for the war, or a lost war which has caused excessive damage and casualties – because of its shamefulness.

The cultural background of this phenomenon, however, cannot be a sufficient explanation for the reluctance in Japan to discuss the war and to apologize, as the victims of war have requested Japan to do time after time because of the horrors she committed. In the case of the Korean "comfort girls", as the Japanese euphemistically call the "comfort girls" used to administer to the sexual needs of the *teishintai*, the Japanese elite troops, the Japanese Prime Minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, was forced to apologize. It was too much for Japan, however, to promise the protesting women compensation payments. (10) Although Korea is a more rigid Confucian society, she demanded that Japan should confess guilt.

But the demand for a confession of guilt has to be considered essentially meaningless. What is vexing is that the matter is not being gone into more

profoundly. There is an attempt to avoid discussion of the events and the role of Japan in that war (Kousbroek, 1992, p. 272). We can also reason that, if we wish to speak in terms like "guilt and penalty", the Japanese have been sufficiently punished by the dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Therefore we ought to find other explanations.

4.3 The Historical-Political Explanation

The Western confusion about the reluctance in Japan to discuss her responsibility for the war and the war crimes, which Japan committed in the name of the Emperor, grew high after the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor. The cultural explanation seems to be inadequate for understanding the difference in perceptions of the war between the Japanese and the Americans. Another explanation is the historical-political one.

I would like to discuss two issues concerning Japanese history to illustrate the historical-political background of Japan's refusal to deal with her war history. First, referring to the cultural explanation of Japanese attitudes towards the war, one stresses the degree of Japanese isolation throughout world history. Historians argue that Japan did not play a part in world history until 1853. Sansom (1951, p. 5) argues that this picture of Japan is beside the point. The different continents did not know about each other for long time. Columbus "discovered" America, but it had already been known by others for thousands of years.

Second, the events of 1894/95 turned out to be a very decisive moment in Japan's future. After a revolt in Korea and the intervention of Chinese troops in order to help the Korean king, Japan embarked on an armed invasion of Korea and China. She drove the Chinese out of Korea and captured Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula in the south of Manchuria, and seized the port of Wei-hai-wei on the coast of Shantung. After the treaty of Shimonoseki, which gave Japan new territories, Russia, France and Germany turned up. They advised Japan to give up the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur, since such Japanese possessions would threaten the peace in the Far East. The Emperor Meji had no other choice but to accept and tell his people that they must bear the unbearable (Story, 1982, pp. 126-127).

For Japan, however, the grapes were very sour. Within five years Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States and Russia captured or controlled the above-mentioned and other territories in that area. In the same year of 1895, Marshal Yamagata issued an ordinance which reserved the post of War and Navy Ministers to officers on the active list.

Both occurrences had important political consequences. A new elite of

Japanese military leaders grew up. They got the power to force a government out of office, which made it impossible for civilian leaders to resist a warlike policy. Furthermore, this evoked a massive popular indignation against the acts of Western states. On the other hand, the Westerners taught the Japanese "how ruthless the game of imperialism could be and how unwilling Westerners were to accept other races as full equals" (Reischauer, 1970, p. 147).

In the historical debate the political developments, starting immediately after the end of the war, cannot be ignored. We have to find an answer to the question "what sort of war did Japan fight?". Was the Pacific War the same war as World War II is for others, including other Asian people? Let me go back to the "point zero": the defeat of Japan and her reconstruction. At this point – l'histoire se repète – the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, repeated the words of his grandfather, that Japan must bear the unbearable.

Three issues contribute to the problems Japan has regarding World War II: (i) the Tokyo Tribunal, (ii) the role of the Emperor, and (iii) the Constitution, in particular article 9.

After the surrender of Japan the allies organized the Tokyo Tribunal. The Japanese "criminals of war" were put on trial just like the German war leaders at the Nuremberg Tribunal. The Japanese acts in Manchuria, China, Korea, Burma, Indonesia caused millions of casualties; indeed unreasonable killing took place under the authority of the Japanese government and the military leaders.

David Bergamini, however, who thundered against the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, presented a rather different opinion. The Americans organized their first major trial in Manilla. They began with the prosecution of General Yamashita, accusing him of war crimes and in the end putting him to death. This, however, dispensed more vengeance, politics and propaganda than justice. (11) They did not persecute leaders like Tsuji, Prince Mikasa and the Emperor Hirohito, but sentenced and "hanged military officers who knew no morality but obedience to orders" (Bergamini, 1971, pp. 1047-1048).

In particular the role of the Emperor, Hirohito, and the question of responsibility was discussed. Are we dealing with an Emperor System, which we can perceive as an element of the cultural explanation, or do we have to consider the Emperor himself responsible? There is an inclination to reduce the Emperor to a figurehead, who was too powerless to control the Japanese militarists and who was mesmerized by his microscope and marine biology.

Although Bergamini and other Western experts are convinced that

Hirohito played a major role in what is called the third stage of the first cycle of the Emperor's deification (Ishida, 1989, p. 50), his position shifted from that of an instrument for the legitimization of the power structure into a divine entity. From that moment on it became impossible to know the real will of the Emperor. However, after Hirohito had been forced to denounce his divinity after the defeat, he still kept silent about his responsibility for the military coup of February 26, 1936, and the war. McArthur's "mistake" was his use of the Emperor as "an indispensable helpmate in reforming Japan" (Bergamini, 1971, p. 1066).

A third element of the historical-political explanation is article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. This article does not allow Japan to have any military force under the control of the Government. The United States insisted on this pacifist Constitution. Japan was so war-weary that she was willing to accept. The United States, however, started to press Japan to rearm when the Cold War started and Japan became locked into one side in the East-West conflict. (Concerning the erosion of the Japanese pacifist position, see among others: Hook, 1988; Lie, 1991.) A somewhat unofficial army, the so-called National Police Force, was formed and this was later transformed into the Self-Defense Force.

The Western countries, in particular the United States and France, nourished the Japanese peace movement through the testing of nuclear bombs in the Pacific. The nuclear issue as such did not vanish from the Asia-Pacific area. "Indeed, nuclear-arms tests were conducted in the Pacific for many years, and the Japanese people's fears that nuclear weapons have been "introduced" into Japan proper under the Japan-U.S. security pact have not been allayed by the Japanese government's denials or by the U.S. refusal to 'confirm or deny' either way." (Swain, 1991, p. 198.)

In this respect it should be discussed to what extent the pacifist character of the Constitution could be perceived as a real political problem for Japan. (12) Leftist Japanese considered themselves as the watchdogs of article 9. As a result, the peace movement and the Socialist Party became more pacifist and they moved towards the extreme left position in the political spectrum. Hence they became effectively marginalized (Buruma, 1992). The same thing happened to the rightist movement in Japan, who on the contrary tried to get rid of that pacifist article and demanded her rearmament. This gave the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) a free hand in the political arena. It could, keeping silent about the Constitution and the war, maintain its power over the years.

The dispute about article 9 reflects the way Japan thinks about the war. As

a consequence, the past became the plaything of politics. We can rediscover the political struggle over the war in school textbooks. From the moment teachers and teachers' unions attempted to present more clarity about the war, for example that Japan invaded China, the Ministry of Education gave a strong antidote. In other words, Japan did not suppress the war but she politicized it in a way that made discussion about the war and the role of Japan impossible. The politicians were of the opinion that revealing the past should be the task of historians and not of themselves.

4.4 Japan's Perception of the War

When westerners consider World War II, they perceive it as defined by the German horrors. It is the same when they look at the Japanese involvement in the war. The Japanese, on the contrary, have never understood this point. Their view is a totally different one. Two quotations could give an indication:

The first one deals with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The former Minister of Transport and member of Parliament, Shintaro Ishihara, explained it in the following way (Ishihara, 1991, p. 9): The note of the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, the last diplomatic message which Japan received, was "decidedly an ultimatum. It was obvious that America would never give its approval for Japan keeping all the territory, which she had conquered since the Meiji-area. In particular, the isles of Sachalin and Chishima which were parts of territories which even Theodore Roosevelt had admitted that Japan had the right to possess. Moreover, to put it more bluntly: Roosevelt had helped Japan to obtain them during the Russian- Japan war. In the case of World War II it was clear what was at stake. It was a clash of interests about control over the colonies, at the time a fundamental question in European politics."

A second quotation comes from the marginalized opposition (Osamu, 1991, pp. 14-15). "For the Japanese and for the Vietnamese, the Gulf War showed nothing new in the field of ideas, just high-tech weapons employed in the same old routine of military action, which was conducted against our nations several decades ago. Among the weapons used against us were the B-29, incendiary bombs, A-bombs, napalm bombs, and flame throwers. These were the high-tech weapons of the 1940s and 1960s-1970s."

What can we learn from such quotations, of which there are many published through the years? They reflect a real consensus about the war in Japan. A consensus in which Japanese aggression and her militarists did not play a substantial role. It was rather the Americans who betrayed Japan and

charred neighborhoods in almost every town – except Kyoto, because of its special historical value – with air raids during the "Pacific War", claiming 100,000 lives.

The Japanese when dealing with World War II concentrate on the weapons and the soldiers, who are seen on the one hand as liberating the colonized Asian countries, in precisely the way in which the war propaganda machine told them at the time quite convincingly. On the other hand they feel themselves betrayed by the military, who forced the incident of Mukden (1931) against the will of the Japanese Government. This "one-night war" was the beginning of the occupation of Manchuria, after which Japan headed inevitably into the direction of the Pacific War. (13)

5.1 Auschwitz and Hiroshima

The conspicuous events of World War II are without any doubt the Holocaust and the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Auschwitz and Hiroshima. These historical events have both common elements and clear differences.

The resemblance of Auschwitz and Hiroshima is to be found in their uniqueness. Both events were beyond humanity. (14) Auschwitz's uniqueness lies in the following. For the first time in history a careful plan was developed in order to wipe out a whole people. The Germans planned a conference at the Wannsee in Berlin; they constructed concentration camps and furnished these for that aim; and they murdered en masse more than six million Jews, but also Gypsies, homosexuals and other so-called "Untermenschen". Hiroshima receives its uniqueness because it was there that the first atomic bomb in history was dropped. After Hiroshima – we should not forget Nagasaki – no other attack with an atomic bomb has occurred.

The differences, however, throw another light upon these historical occurrences. Auschwitz took place for no other reason than a racist hatred hatched on Nazist ground. It was hatched and executed by a gangster regime. Auschwitz was not the result of a war, it was the most extreme element of the war, wanted by the Germans and started by them. Hiroshima was the result of a war, which Japan started, and it was not carried out by a regime which we can consider as a gangster regime. Hiroshima is a real matter of discussion about the justification of the atomic attack by the Americans. Auschwitz is beyond that stage, although some historians, like David Irving, try to obscure the horrors of Auschwitz.

The uniqueness of Hiroshima makes it a focus of the war in the Pacific. Its penetrative picture creates the idea that the war in that region started with

Hiroshima and not that it was the end of a bloody war. The Japanese do not connect the atomic bombs with the war which was sparked off when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. In the view of the Japanese, the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are an act of inhuman cruelty, like the bombing of Vietnam and Iraq. They blame the Americans for this inhuman act. They feel themselves the victims of a war which Japan started, and they have the idea that they were fooled by the militarists. The Germans accepted Auschwitz and the Holocaust as an outrageous act for which they considered themselves responsible. Auschwitz is connected with the war which Germany started and which they supported. The main question for the Germans is how it could happen to them, why they did not resist Hitler rather then join him. (15)

Auschwitz and Hiroshima have fulfilled different roles in the processing of the war in the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. Auschwitz called attention to the role of the Germans and Nazism concerning the war. They were responsible, they accepted that responsibility and they compensated (Wiedergutmachung). Hiroshima, amongst other things, disconnected the Japanese from their responsibility for the war. Hence, Japan became reluctant to accept her role. She refused to compensate even those who have the moral right to be compensated, such as the "comfort girls" in Korea.

5.2 "Guilt" in the FRG and GDR

The attitudes of both the FRG and the GDR about their war history are the result of two different ways of processing. Again the core issue is the question about responsibility for the war, which was linked with the role of the Germans towards fascism. The GDR stated its different perspective very clearly, that fascism was a product of capitalism and imperialism and therefore not a problem for the GDR, a nation of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist resistance fighters. We can find more examples in Europe of such a posture of non-responsibility about the war. The Austrians consign their joining in the war to the wastepaper basket, referring to the so-called "Anschluss". Nonetheless the majority of the Austrians backed the marching in of the Nazis. The Slovaks who, after Germany and just before The Netherlands, had the worst record of murdered Jews, worship their old war-time leaders, such as Joseph Tiso, because only during this horrific period was their nation "independent".

From the beginning the FRG accepted her responsibility for the war, although it took time before it found expression in education and the media. By the beginning of the sixties, at the latest, the processing of war history

was delegated to education. For the FRG the structural problem of education about fascism and national-socialism was not the topical approach to the issue. That was the question of "second guilt", i.e. to what extent did the new generation of Germans have to accept "their guilt" because of a joint history with their parents. A second issue, and critique, was the transfer of facts, but not the how and why of the massive participation of the Germans in the Nazi movement. Both the issues of "second guilt" and the "how and why of Nazism in Germany" are strongly connected.

If German responsibility for the "Kristallnacht" and the Holocaust can be traced back to the value concepts and structural way of thinking of entire societal groups (Keim, 1988, p. 35), then the burning question arises of whether the present-day Germans are still part of that same structural way of thinking. Furthermore educators and pedagogues in the 1930's took part in the diffusion and reinforcement of fascism. As we have noticed, the case of Theodor Wilhelm (see note 15), a fascist-inspired pedagogue, who played an important role in the development of political education in the FRG after the war, provides a very interesting example of the problems which Germans are facing as they search to give a correct answer to the question of guilt and responsibility.

5.3 War Memory in a Reunited FRG

Almost 50 years after the war the question remains of whether the Germans have processed their war past in such a way that a repetition of Nazism, in one or another different shape, has become impossible. The same question also applies to the Japanese about their militarist pre-war history. The question cannot be answered unequivocally, because we are not able to understand all the variables which are influencing neo-Nazism and neo-fascism in the FRG or militarism in Japan.

After the reunification of the FRG and GDR some interesting surveys have been made about the attitudes of the Germans towards the war and their inclination towards xenophobia. The combination of both aspects in several surveys is explicable, because one of the main characteristics of Nazism was its unbridled hatred of strangers, in particular of Jews, although they were very well integrated in the respective societies where they were living.

An indication of differences concerning the matter of guilt and responsibility was presented by the German weekly "Der Spiegel", which organized, in cooperation with the Bielefelder Emnis-Institute and the Tel Aviv Gallup Institute, a survey among 2000 West Germans and 1000 East Germans about their guilt and responsibility for the Holocaust (Der Spiegel,

1992). The answers to two questions are interesting: (i) "Does the German people have a special responsibility for Jews, even if the present-day Germans bear no guilt for the persecution of Jews during the NS-era?", and (ii) "Would Hitler have been a great statesman were it not for the war and the persecution of Jews?" In both questions the East Germans scored higher than the West Germans. They responded to the first question respectively with 30 % and 43 % "yes", 46 % and 25 % "no". The second question "no, even then he won't be a great statesman" with 67 % and 78 %. On the other hand more East Germans (86 %) than West Germans (69 %) considered the stories about concentration camps exaggerated.

One other outcome of the survey should be revealed. Among the Germans there is a widespread desire to put an end to the discussion about the war. The West Germans agreed with 66 % to this, while 46 % of the East-Germans confirmed this opinion. Altogether 62 % of the Germans wish to end the discussion about the war and their guilt and responsibility, while only 20 % disagree.

Two other surveys (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 14) on the effects of anti-fascist education among pupils in 1988 and 1990, both conducted in the GDR, showed a tendency towards downplaying the NS-era and its aims. In 1988 a slight majority (40 %) was positive about the statement "When I think about the time of fascism, I feel concerned", while 38 % denied that. Two years later the figures were respectively 43 % falling in with the statement and 40 % in disagreement with it. On the other hand more pupils agreed that the time of fascism had no meaning for them, respectively 27 % in 1988 and 32 % in 1990. Also more pupils suggested that fascism also had its good sides: 12 % in 1988 and 14 % in 1990. A last statement that "the Germans were always the best in history" was supported by 12 % in 1988 and 23 % in 1990.

In a comparative survey of East German and West German pupils about the same issues connected with questions concerning feelings about foreigners, some remarkable differences can be noted. About fascism both the West and the East German pupils react in almost the same way. Other statements about the past, however, brought forth divergences in the respective opinions. The statement that "the Germans were always the best in history" was supported by 24 % of the East German pupils and by only 7 % of the West Germans. Interestingly there were also more East German pupils than West German ones who were against the statement: 51 % and 49 % respectively.

The main difference occurred when it came to attitudes towards

foreigners. The statement "those many foreigners here are disturbing me" got the support of 42 % of East German pupils and 26 % of the West German ones. West German pupils opposed this statement with 56 %, while only 26 % of the pupils of the former GDR did not agree with it. This is especially a problem because fewer than 1 % foreigners are in fact living in the former GDR, while in the FRG about 6.5 % are of foreign background. The citizens of East Germany do not have much real experience with foreigners, which is in contradiction with the former so often proclaimed "international solidarity".

After Hoyerswerda, new developments of German xenophobia have assumed large proportions when so-called skinheads started a mass attack of the asylums for refugees. In the five new "Länder" in particular the Gypsies who had left Rumania were the main target, but after them the Turks took second place amongst the most hated inhabitants of Germany. In a survey of September 1992 (Müller & Schubarth, 1992) in those "Länder" one can observe an increase of a rightist attitude amongst pupils. More than half of the respondents, 52 %, answered that people who do not want to assimilate have to leave the country. Now 21 % are of the opinion that the Germans were always the greatest in history. The conviction that national-socialism had good sides increased to 25 % of the respondents.

In conjunction with the violence against refugees in the former GDR the number of violent actions against foreigners in the FRG increased. In particular the Turks in areas where unemployment is increasing, as in the Ruhr-area, became the main victims of threatening letters and phone calls. Despite democratic and civic education in the FRG the reunion of the GDR and the FRG has had a very negative effect on the results of civic education in the former West Germany. The economic miscalculations of the Kohl Government concerning the reunion have induced an extreme rightist current because of unemployment, decline of income and general economic problems. It is unclear to what extent historical patterns of Nazism are still influencing the political and social climate in the new FRG. Political interest has reached a low point and, generally speaking, an a-political attitude is a soil for extremist enhancement.

It seems that the pupils of the former GDR, who have enjoyed anti-fascist education, don't connect fascism and xenophobia, while the pupils in the old FRG do have a sense of this connection. One cannot say that anti-fascist education failed in transferring knowledge about fascism, but it lacked insight into its connection with xenophobia. The question which remains, however, is whether anti-Semitism and xenophobia do have a relationship.

6.1 Education for Peace

The role of "education for peace" concerning World War II is a crucial one, although we do not know about its effects. That the population of Japan is reluctant to send troops to Cambodia in order to serve in the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations is probably not the outcome of Japanese education about World War II. (16) The common memory of the war generates a widespread mistrust against the military and militarists. What role education plays in forming or reinforcing this profound attitude is almost impossible to trace. What are the effects of education about Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Japanese peace education has focussed on the atom bomb, although its representatives also attempt to deal with the question of Japanese aggression towards other Asian nations. The answer here seems to be negative, since most Japanese think that World War II started with the attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and that they were victims of a war imposed upon them. Implicit education, memories and emotions are the most important features of the attitude of the Japanese about war and militarism. In comparison with Germany, Japan lacked a fascist ideology, although it was impressed by German philosophers.

The measures implemented by the Americans during the occupation changed the structure of Japanese education, but not its content about human issues. In the FRG, on the contrary, the Americans succeeded in changing the content of education through their re-education program, but they failed in imposing their educational system. Hence in the FRG a strong peace education movement could emerge, which led in some "Länder" to a formal acceptance of education for peace. (17) The conservatively ruled "Länder", however, considered education for peace undesirable (see, among others, Mannhardt, 1979; Roszmann et al., 1983). As a result of the changes in education in the FRG, when it comes to the human issues, one can perceive a positive effect of education concerning insights into the connections between fascism and xenophobia.

This cannot be observed when we turn to anti-fascist education in the former GDR. Nonetheless one can argue that it was the communist ideology that laid the foundation for the xenophobic attitude of many East Germans. It is not possible to judge what is true, but one can say that totalitarian and nationalist education form a breeding ground for nationalism and xenophobia. Perhaps because of their mistrust of the totalitarian regime and its state sponsored anti-fascist education, East Germans don't feel such a strong taboo against anti-Semitic and fascist utterances as is felt in the West.

In relation to these conclusions the processing of World War II has to be

understood as a matter of education in general and education for peace in particular. During this war basic human values were at stake. But it should not be forgotten that there were people who resisted the dehumanizing tendencies and sustained basic human values (Vriens, 1991, pp. 37-38). Education for peace should therefore:

- give attention to the tragic pages of the history of a nation, without the idea of putting the blame on the war generation or the new generations either, but rather of connecting historical facts with interpretations of historical processes and backgrounds;
- present, despite such tragic pages, the alternative possibility of a humane future: even after Auschwitz and Hiroshima a humane future is still possible, but we must not overestimate the human possibilities for making such a humane world;
- see as a dangerous element of history teaching the whole concept of "heroism", which is bequeathed to us by the historical meta-narration; hence education for peace should not try to promote the idea of peace heroes;
- prevent the misuse of history for nationalist and other reasons.

Education for peace can play a role in processing the tragic pages of a nation's history. However it is important to take into account the feelings and dignity of the pupils on the one hand and on the other not to cause new feelings of hostility. (18) But that is not the only task of education for peace about history. Such education should not only focus on tragic pages, but also present a genuine picture of the positive merits of a nation, without any feeling of heroism or superiority above other people. Education for peace has too often lacked historical perspective. Therefore it became a sort of topical education, which tended to follow the shadow of the present. Moreover the specific contribution of education about the tragic pages of a nation's history is to set the educational climate in which such education takes place. Not every educational setting is able to deal with history free from strong nationalist and patriotist feelings, and able to embrace notions of respect and tolerance. In such situations both peace education and history teaching about tragic pages will suffer insuperable difficulties. Yet peace almost has to make a start with education about World War II. Isn't that a bit late?

6.2 Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed three attitudes toward World War II: (i) the acceptance of responsibility for war by the Federal Republic of Germany;

(ii) the rejection of all responsibility for German war crimes by the regime of the GDR; and (iii) the embracing of the role of victim of war by the Japanese. We could see that the thorough and massive education about World War II in the Federal Republic of Germany has led to a widespread feeling that it was more than enough. Nonetheless there is a need for a continuation of history teaching and peace education about World War II. In addition to that, peace educators should also deal with the phenomenon of war and alienation. Fascism did not disappear, not in the new FRG nor in other countries of both West and East Europe. In particular in East Europe the growing nationalism sometimes bears horrible references to old fascist ideas and persons who represented them.

Japan has to find ways and means for educating her people about the Japanese role in World War II, since it cannot play the victim forever. The idea of Japan bashing, which has grown up during recent years, has been influenced by Japanese reluctance to process her war past sufficiently. The politicization of this past in Japanese society is an unfortunate effect of American miscalculations after the war. In particular, the American refusal to abolish the Japanese Emperor System, its decision to sentence an arbitrary number of Japanese as war criminals, and to impose a Consti- tution, however peaceful its provisions, in combination with a number of cultural features (though these were not in themselves decisive), have given impetus to an avoidance of discussion of Japan's past.

Now that the moment has come when Japan will send troops abroad in order to implement the agreement between the conflicting parties in Cambodia, she must explain to her Asian neighbors that Japan will not fall back into her old habits. This cannot be done by words alone, but by amongst other things showing that Japan is prepared to educate her new generations in an anti-war attitude. In this respect Japanese education cannot persist in excluding her militarist and belligerent past from history teaching. For the Europeans and Americans, in general, this issue no longer plays an important role, since the West is stressing the duty of Japan to contribute to the international forces under the charge of the United Nations.

Education for peace should try again to start or to continue the discussion in education about the backgrounds of war and xenophobia. That task becomes more urgent now that times have changed after the collapse of the Communist regimes and the positions of the world powers have begun to alter. One should, however, be aware of the risk of a continuation of a negative politicization of the issue, in particular if it prevents an acceptable working out of a tragic past of a people.

Notes

1. See among others: Huizinga, 1937. In this book, written in a period of tensions just before the outbreak of the Second World War, Huizinga argues against history as a contribution to relativism, that could endanger the survival of a nation because all of it was only relative. Nevertheless, he could understand the reproach, but "historical orientation would only lead to the danger of relativism, if it rests with a previous loss of intellectual and moral standards, which are situated outside history" (p. 137).

2. It would be too easy to accuse only the three nations revealed in this paper. Most countries have such a historical heritage. Few of them have abjured the tragic pages of their past recently. When looking at the colonial history of the Netherlands, Lennart Vriens notes that "there was little room for the development of peace values, which, for example, would contradict the national 'police policy' in Indonesia". See: Vriens, 1988, p. 78. The euphemism "police policy" was the launch of an attack on liberated Indonesian territories by the Dutch colonial army in 1947. Authors still use this term in history textbooks.

3. The use of terms regarding Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic should be considered carefully. Using the term Germany we are pointing to the aggressive and fascist empire which lasted until 1945. With the downfall of the Hitler regime Germany ceased to exist. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was the new democratic republic after the Second World War. It consisted of three of the former zones of occupation. After 1990 it took over the German Democratic Republic and remained a federal republic consisting of the old and five new so called "Länder" (republics). In 1949 the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was born out of the former Soviet zone of occupation and was liquidated in 1990, becoming part of the FRG. The re-introduction of the notion "Germany" could lead to revanchism and the wish to regain former territories of Germany, such as the city of Kaliningrad and the territory, which surrounds that city and is perceived as the old Prussian land.

4. See: Wissensspeicher: Wehrausbildung, 1979. In the introductory paragraphs the book presents the Communist doctrine ahout war and warfare, in which the imperialist countries are accused of aggression, whilst socialism is serving the peaceful coexistence of the world.

5. In my analysis I'm leaving out the question of the extent to which the policy of the well-known chancellor of the federation of the FRG, Konrad Adenauer, has contributed to the establishment of democracy in his country and a democratic attitude of the West Germans as well as his purposeful effort to integrate the FRG in Europe. In the

framework of this paper I will focus on education and history mainly, though his efforts could be of more significance for the way the FRG dealt with World War II and the way he strengthened the widespread feeling of "That never again!".

6. See Mickel, 1967. In the period which is described in the book, the foundations of civic and political education in the Federal Republic of Germany were shaped.

7. See: Schneider, 1979. The title "An Enlightenment, which can hardly be managed" makes clear that the wave of publications, films, exhibitions, theater plays, etc was so vast that it is almost impossible to track down everything that has been issued in one form or another. The actual information in the paragraph is taken from this article. What has not been mentioned in the Schneider article is the function of the numerous memorial places, which have to keep alive the memory of the dreadful deeds of the fascists, such as the maintainance of the Gestapo Headquarters with its cells in Cologne or the so-called "Anti-fascist tour" in the city of Bonn.

8. The letter was sent to all the embassies of the Federal Republic of Germany by November 6, 1986, 012-312.28 RE 66/86. Added to the letter was a careful selection of articles published in several newspapers and periodicals.

9. Christopher, 1983, p. 314. In the same history textbooks the "rape of Nanking" (1937) and the Japanese excesses in Korea were downplayed.

10. On July 7th 1992 the Japanese Government conceded for the first time, at a press conference, through the voice of Koichi Kato, that Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, Philippine and Dutch-Indian girls were recruited systematically during the war in order to accomodate Japanese soldiers. But the Government denied that the imperial army had compelled the young women to do that. The estimation is that about 70,000 to 200,000 girls were involved. Although in Japanese textbooks the phrase that Japan "had caused difficulties" for these countries has been changed to "unbearable sufferings", the New York Times of July 13th writes in its editorial commentary that Japan can do better. "Japan deserves credit for accepting responsibility, finally, for the sexual enslavement of tens of thousands of Korean women during World War II. But the gesture was neither spontaneous nor graceful. Half a century later, Tokyo still resists acknowledging other appalling wartime crimes. Until it does, Japan's efforts to play a more active role in Asian affairs will provoke distrust."

11. Bergamini, 1971, p. 1049. The Tiger of Malay (Yamashita, R.A.) had drilled the Special Maneuver Forces for the Strike South in Manchuria in 1941. He had bested General Percival in Malaya in 1942. He had embarrassed General McArthur by his skillful defense of Luzon, with pitifully equipped forces, in 1945. These achievements were still fresh in the minds of the Japanese public when, on October 29, 1945, General Yamashita was put on trial for his life as a war criminal. To many outside observers in the West as well as in Japan, it seemed that MacArthur was indulging in petty vengeance. How different was the opinion of the Allies, in particular of Montgomery, of their adversary in Northern Africa, Rommel. Although Rommel died before the overthrow of the Hitler regime, one can expect that neither Montgomery nor Eisenhower would summon and hang him.

12. Because of the problems of language usage and the political and historical perceptions of Japan in the world outside Japan, which I try to explain in paragraphs 4.3 and 4.4, Professor Yoshikazu Sakamoto of the International Peace Research Institute Meigaku gave among others the following commentary: "As a whole I am in agreement with your critical view on 'Japan's' evasion of war responsibility. At the same time I am uncomfortable with your way of treating 'Japan' as if it were a single unit." A matter of dispute, however, is the following matter: "Self-criticism has been expressed by the mass media and a number of citizens and citizens' organizations. Had it not been for these voices of dissent and conscience, 'Japan's' position would have been much worse and more audacious." Moreover he wrote: "In my view, this is a point particularly important if this article is to be addressed to Japanese peace researchers who have been raising voices of protest to Japan's position since the picture would appear (i) one-sided and incomplete, and (ii) discouraging because of your inattention to the role played by the dissenting people including many peace researchers." Is this a problem of failing dissenters to prevail over the conservative government or their failure to disseminate information? Or is it the strong politicization of the constitution and article 9 which disturbed the opportunity to draw a just picture of Japan, both for the Japanese and the Americans and Europeans? Was it not this which became the precondition of the difficult position of the opponents of Japanese postwar policies, through which they became the dissenters instead of those who tried to change or to undermine that constitution?

13. One interesting example among others of this general feeling can be found in the Peace Museum of Osaka. A tv-movie for children explains this using the example of a policeman who is standing at a pedestrian crossing. A soldier tries to cross the pedestrian crossing although the pedestrian light is red. The policeman tries to stop the soldier, but the latter hits the policeman and walks through the red

light. The little boy who is listening to the story does not want to obey traffic lights either. When he crosses the street, ignoring the pedestrian lights he is hit by a car. When he comes around, he promises to listen to his teacher and never to ignore the pedestrian light. After this story the tape starts with the history of Mukden and the Pacific War.

14. About Auschwitz there exists a consensus about its nature, but with respect to Hiroshima such a consensus is absent, because many survivors in the Far East and in the United States and Europe consider Hiroshima as the welcome and unavoidable end of the war.

15. This discussion can be sometimes rather virulent, as is the dispute about the role of Professor Theodor Wilhelm, who, under the pen-name Fritz Oertinger, wrote very influential books on political education in the years after the war. Wilhelm, who was also a Nazi pedagogue, defends himself against the charges of the new generation by saying that: (i) "Today we have at our disposal a theory of ideology, that makes it clear that ideologies possess us with phrases of belief, which rule out rational checks, and an appealing power, which cannot be understood by those who are outsiders"; (ii) "People were fascinated and allured by the initial results of Hitler's foreign policy and indulged in a collective flush of people's unity; the misery of the Weimar Republic was at last resolved by a new solidarity of the nation." Wilhelm winds up his argument thus: "Is it not possible that we would not have taken the ideas seriously if they had not gone hand in hand with a new successful regime and if they had not been laid down in the new bible (Mein Kampf R.A.) of the new leader?" (Wilhelm, 1991, p. 8.) Comparing the statement of Theodor Wilhelm with what he wrote during the war makes his position and that of many educators and pedagogues rather problematic. In 1944 he wrote among other things: "The policies concerning Jews of the European states make it clear that they are not conducted on the grounds of racial hatred, but that everywhere hard facts of biology, population policies, economy and idiosyncracy have led to a competent dealing with the issue." See: Keim, 1988, p. 36. The statement was made in Wilhelm, 1944, p. 8.

16. The role of Japan in issues of peace and security is becoming a central point after the dissolution of the East-West conflict. In particular the United States and Europe are stressing that Japan "can do more to provide peacekeepers for United Nations operations", and that in the distant future after the political unification of Europe "the French and U.K. seats in the Security Council be merged into a single European seat, and the other seat given to Japan". See: Nye Jr., Biedenkopf & Shiina, 1991, pp. 45-47. In this report to the Trilateral Commission "wider global roles for Japan" are considered as one out of ten challenges of the 1990s. In the meanwhile Japan is one of the few

states, where the army and the costs of the military are growing despite the abolition of the East-West conflict. Japan could make a significant step to a real "New World Order" if it would reduce its so-called self-defence forces and place them under the umbrella of the United Nations. Instead of that the Government is increasing the budget of the army and the opposition is ineffectually acting against the participation of Japanese troops in the operations of the United Nations in Cambodia.

17. The 15th of April 1985 the Ministry of Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen issued an official statement about the commemoration of 8 May 1945. In article I the Minister stated that "Education for peace is an important duty of the school. This duty is related with the obligation to educate conscious, active and democratic citizens". See: Gemeinsames Amtsblatt ..., 1985, p. 199.

18. For example, it should be revealed that during World War II about 50,000 German soldiers were sentenced to death because they deserted from the army. Others who have survived the desertion are still waiting for recognition of their conscientious objection. History teaching about World War II can also cause new feelings of hostility amongst those who have never experienced war. In the Netherlands, for example, youngsters triumphantly sang in the streets of Amsterdam "Now we have our bikes back" after the Dutch had beaten the soccer team of FRG at the European Championship of 1988. In the war the Germans had confiscated many bikes.

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PEACE EDUCATION AROUND THE WORLD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1990s

Some Data from Questionnaires to Ministries of Education and Members of the Peace Education Commission

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INTRODUCTION

In order to get some kind of overview of the situation of peace education in the mid-1980s, I carried out an international survey, in cooperation with the National Board of Education in Sweden. In 1985-86 we approached the ministries of education (or the corresponding official bodies) in a number of countries around the world, asking them to answer some questions on peace education in their country.

Preliminary findings from this international questionnaire were presented at the IPRA Conference in 1986 (cf a brief, revised report; Bjerstedt, 1986), and a more detailed analysis was later made in a small book entitled "Peace Education in Different Countries" (Bjerstedt, 1988).

A great deal has happened in the educational world from the middle of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s, and considerable changes in the international political arena have occurred, including the end of the cold war between East and West. It therefore seemed appropriate to try to make a new overview of the current situation of peace education, i.e. at the beginning of the 1990s. After I had accepted the role as coordinator of the Peace Education Commission (PEC) in 1990, this task seemed especially relevant to me, and I decided also to include a questionnaire to the members of the PEC Network.

PROCEDURE

The *school authorities study carried out in 1985-86* used quite a brief questionnaire, concentrating on three main questions. At the same time, however, the addressees were requested to send supplementary information

in the form of official texts, debate articles, guidebooks and the like, which would make it possible to obtain a multi-faceted and concrete picture.

An attempt was made to reach most geographical units in Europe and North America and, in addition, we sent our request for information to a small number of countries outside Europe and North America. In some countries, school matters are not dealt with by central offices, but by authorities of subareas. This applied to West Germany and England, for example. In these cases, the questions were sent to the relevant authority, as exemplified by the different states of West Germany or a sample of local educational authorities in England. The main analysis of the 1985-86 study dealt with replies from 121 geographical areas (Bjerstedt, 1988).

In our present *school authorities study from 1991-92* we used a similar procedure. In order to facilitate comparisons, the main three questions were identical. In addition, however, the respondents were requested to make some direct comparisons between the earlier situation and the present situation. So far (up to the middle of 1992), we have received replies from 125 geographical areas, which are included in what we call our *total school authorities group for 1991-92*. Most of our analyses, however, will be made with a group of geographical areas from which we have got replies both in the 1985-86 study and the 1991-92 study. This group contains 100 geographical areas, and we refer to this group as our *"comparison group"*.

(It should be added that while both studies were carried out over an extended period, here referred to as 1985-86 and 1991-92, in the following we will use abbreviated labels: the 1986 study and the 1991 study.)

In addition, our data collection during 1991-92 also included a *questionnaire to members of the Peace Education Commission*, a network of educators and researchers with a special interest in the peace education area. This special group were given the same questions as the school authorities, but also some additional questions dealing especially with the difficulties of peace education, the preferred terminology in the field and the possible goals or subareas of peace education. For some of the questions we analyze the data in two ways: using the *total group of PEC respondents* (80 people), or using a smaller group, where each geographical area is represented only by one individual (46 people). The latter group is referred to as the *"reduced PEC" group*.

THE SITUATION OF PEACE EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES: SOME GENERAL TRENDS IN THE SCHOOL AUTHORITIES STUDIES

Three Main Questions: The Official Status of Peace Education, Peace Education Materials, and the Debate on Peace Education

In Box 1, I have summarized some information from the two school authorities studies, focusing on our "comparison group" (the 100 geographical areas included in both the old and the new study), but also giving some data from the total group so far in the 1991-92 study (125 geographical areas). Let us look at some of the results in Box 1.

The *first question* asked was whether or not the country had included some *explicit recommendations in official documents* for the schools that the teaching should include questions of peace or "peace education". Out of the 125 responding ministries or other official bodies in the more recent study, 65 said No, while 42 said Yes and 18 gave some other kind of answer. Obviously, many countries still do not have explicit official recommendations in this important area. (Excluding the various kinds of "other answers", we find a proportion of about 60% No versus 40% Yes). This shows that we still have a long way to go before peace education is generally seen as a normal and important ingredient in the school systems.

If we look at the data for the comparison group, where we can directly compare the response distribution from the same geographical areas in the middle of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, we see that the general pattern is very similar. In this respect we really find no change – neither for the better, nor for the worse.

In commenting on the results in this respect from the 1986 study, we noted that the several Yes replies could be considered a positive thing, in spite of the fact that the answers were in the minority. One or two decades ago, there had been almost no interest in peace aspects or peace education at all. Even though the official texts on which these Yes answers were based varied considerably in scope and concretion, it was a hopeful sign that many countries and states had had special committees working with recommendations, and that many of the texts were detailed and recent. In the mid-1980s, a new official recognition and legalization of peace education could be discerned.

We see today that this development has not continued. We have a status quo situation.

Box 1. Overview of answers on Peace Education by school authorities in 1986 and 1991: Official Status of Peace Education (Question 1), Peace Education Materials (Question 2), and Debate on Peace Education (Question 3). – The analysis covers two groups: "The Comparison Group" (100 geographical areas answering both in 1986 and in 1991) and "The Total Group 1991" (125 geographical areas).

Question 1: Do you presently have some explicit recommendations in official documents for schools in your country that the teaching should include questions of peace or "peace education"?

	Yes	No	Other answer	n
Europe 1986	14	10	12	36
Europe 1991	14	14	8	36
United States 1986	3	32	5	40
United States 1991	9	28	3	40
Others 1986	11	8	5	24
Others 1991	9	12	3	24
Total Comparison Group 1986	28	50	22	100
Total Comparison Group 1991	32	54	14	100
Percentage Yes/No 1986	*36%*	*64%*		
Percentage Yes/No 1991	*37%*	*63%*		
Total Group 1991	42	65	18	125
Percentage Yes/No	*39%*	*61%*		

Question 2: Do you know of some instructional materials for school pupils or manuals for teachers in your country dealing explicitly with peace education?

	Yes	No	Other answer	n
Europe 1986	13	6	17	36
Europe 1991	16	8	12	36
United States 1986	17	19	4	40
United States 1991	16	18	6	40
Others 1986	8	10	6	24
Others 1991	12	7	5	24
Total Comparison Group 1986	38	35	27	100
Total Comparison Group 1991	44	33	23	100
Percentage Yes/No 1986	*52%*	*48%*		
Percentage Yes/No 1991	*57%*	*43%*		
Total Group 1991	52	44	29	125
Percentage Yes/No	*54%*	*46%*		

Box 1. (continued)

Question 3: Has there, in your country, been some recent public discussion on the topic of peace education (for example, in newspapers and in educational journals)?

	Yes	No	Other answer	n
Europe 1986	18	5	13	36
Europe 1991	9	15	12	36
United States 1986	22	12	6	40
United States 1991	17	16	7	40
Others 1986	13	7	4	24
Others 1991	11	8	5	24
Total Comparison Group 1986	53	24	23	100
Total Comparison Group 1991	37	39	24	100
Percentage Yes/No 1986	*69%*	*31%*		
Percentage Yes/No 1991	*49%*	*51%*		
Total Group 1991	41	55	29	125
Percentage Yes/No	*43%*	*57%*		

Explanatory Notes

1. The figures in the table for Total Group 1991 are based upon 125 independent answers to our questionnaire (which means that answers from federal authorities have been excluded). Most answers are from *Ministries of Education* (or the comparable official department). We have answers to the same questions in our 1986 study from 100 of these geographical areas. These 100 areas make up our Comparison Group, which is analyzed in more detail in the tables above.
   – We use 1986 and 1991 as short labels for the two studies. In fact, however, the first study was carried out in 1985 and 1986 and the second study in 1991 and 1992.

2. Answers for *Europe* include the following areas in the Comparison Group: Austria, Belgium: Communauté française, Belgium: Vlaamse Gemeenshap, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, The Vatican, Wales. – In Germany, the separate "Länder" deal with the school curriculum independently. Separate answers have been requested from them, and the following are included in the Comparison Group: Bavaria, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. – In England, finally, the authority on school affairs rests with local education authorities (LEAs); ten of these were approached, and the following could be included in the Comparison Group: Avon, Leeds, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Sheffield.

3. In the *United States*, educational matters are handled by Departments of Education in the separate states. All of them were approached; 40 could be included in the Comparison Group.

4. Whereas an attempt has been made to reach most geographical units in Europe and the United States, *other countries* were approached more selectively, especially in the 1986 study. (An appendix is available from the author to those interested in further details on geographical units included.)

The *second question* illustrated in Box 1 was concerned with the existence of *instructional materials for school pupils or manuals for teachers* dealing explicitly with peace education. The proportion of Yes answers is higher here than in the case of official recommendations, and several respondents give concrete examples or enclose materials. Here, the response distributions are also quite similar in the old and the new study. We might have expected that the intervening years would have meant a further spread of teaching materials and knowledge about such materials to new areas. The fact that there are few distinct signs of such a development is a disappointment.

The *third question* presented in Box 1, finally, deals with the occurrence of *recent public discussion* on the topic of peace education, for example, in newspapers or in educational journals. Here we had the most "positive" Yes-No-proportion in the old study, with about 75% Yes answers in the total group (Bjerstedt, 1986). This is the only question among the three main ones in Box 1 where we see a clear change: the proportion of Yes answers is considerably lower in the new study. In the Comparison Group, the Yes proportion goes down from about 70% to about 50%.

It might, however, be slightly difficult to state unequivocally whether this change is a negative or a positive sign. To some extent it might be seen as negative: peace education is no longer so clearly on the agenda; there may be too much silence around it. On the other hand, part of the discussion in the middle of the 1980s might very well be characterized as overheated – political and ideological antagonisms led to one-sidedness and poor communication. Newspaper clippings from England and West Germany, for example, in the mid-80s testify to this. It is not to be regretted that some of this overheated attention to peace education has disappeared.

It is also possible to make some *comparisons between groups of countries* or geographical areas on the basis of the data in Box 1. Two observations may be made here. The first is that there is a marked difference between the European group and the United States as to explicit recommendations in official documents for the schools, with considerably fewer such recommendations in the United States. This is true for both the old and the new study, even though there is a slight increase in the United States in the latest study.

The second observation is that the drop in public attention to peace education in the form of debates is most noticeable in Europe. In the middle of the 1980s, the European group had the highest proportion of Yes answers to Question 3, whereas in the beginning of the 1990s they have the lowest one. This may be a consequence of the fact that the political changes in

Europe have been so dramatic. To use a simplified formulation: The disappearance of the Berlin Wall changed the conditions for the peace education debate in Europe.

Direct Comparisons Made by School Authorities between the Middle of the 1980s and the Beginning of the 1990s as to the Situation of Peace Education

So far we have made comparisons between the situation of peace education in the middle of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s by studying the answers given by school authorities at these two different points in time, but we also asked the school authorities – in the later study – to make some comparisons themselves. We present some information from these comparisons in Box 2.

First, the authorities were requested to give a general assessment (in terms of "identical or almost identical", "similar" or "quite different" situations). The results from the 100 geographical areas are very clear: Only 7 of them judge that the situation now is "quite different", while no less than 66 use either "identical/almost identical" or "similar" as assessment categories. This general view accords with the impression we got from the data in Box 1 above.

Second, the authorities were instructed to rate the possible differences or similarities in four more specific respects: degree of controversy, numbers of teachers involved, visibility in newpapers/journals, and broadness of the area covered by peace education. As Box 2 shows, in all four cases there is a majority of respondents who have abstained from making a judgement, probably feeling that the situations were fairly similar in these respects as well at the two time periods (or else not knowing enough about the situation). However, for those who did make a more specific statement, the general picture is very clear: There are many school authorities who indicate that peace education has become less controversial, that more teachers work with peace education today, that peace education is more visible, and – especially – that peace education is increasingly seen as a broad area (dealing not only with absence of war), while there are very few who make the opposite kind of judgement (that peace education has become more controversial etc.).

Box 2. School authorities compare 1991 with 1986 for Peace Education

Part I: Results from "Total Comparison Group" (n=100): General assessment, Controversy, Numbers of teachers involved, Visibility in newspapers/journals, Broadness of area

Assessment	Response distribution
The situation now is *identical* or *almost identical*...	33
The situation now is *similar*...	33
The situation now is *quite different*...	7
Other answer (combinations)	14
No judgement expressed	13
Peace education has become *less controversial*	32
No judgement	64
PE has become *more controversial*	4
More teachers work with PE today	25
No judgement	66
Fewer teachers work with PE today	9
PE is *more visible* in newspapers/educational journals	30
No judgement	61
PE is *less visible* in newspapers/educational journals	9
PE is more often seen as a *broad* area (dealing not only with absence of war)	38
No judgement	61
PE is more often seen as a *narrow* area (dealing primarily with armament/ disarmament issues)	1

Part II: Results from subgroup comparisons: Numbers of teachers involved and Visibility in newspapers/journals

Assessment	Europe (n=36)	United States (n=40)	Others (n=24)
More teachers	8	7	10
No judgement	21	32	13
Fewer teachers	7	1	1
More visible	10	8	12
No judgement	19	30	12
Less visible	7	2	0

Even though these assessments refer to part of the group only, they could be seen as hopeful signs for the situation of peace education. While we have had several indications of a status quo, we have at least some indications of a positive change as well.

In the lower part of Box 2 (Part II), the results from some subgroup comparisons are presented. In two respects (numbers of teachers involved and visibility), European school authorities give a somewhat less positive picture of the changes than authorities in the other groups.

Some of our school authorities have added brief descriptions of "other changes", which may be illustrated with two quotations. The first one comes from the local education authority of Sheffield (similar statements have also been made by other English areas): "Peace education is far less controversial because it is rarely discussed. Since the introduction of the National Curriculum, many teachers and administrators have been focusing their attention on implementing the core subjects, and currently they have little time to give to broader issues. For example, at a recent city-wide meeting on 'Responding to War – Educating for Peace' held at the time of the Gulf War, only 3 teachers attended. There are now few (if any) in-service courses directly related to Peace Education, and posts of responsibility for this area have almost entirely disappeared. There is, however, still great interest in conflict resolution, though for many teachers, this is prompted by their concern about disruptive behaviour."

We got this report from New Zealand: "Changes to our education system have decentralized many curriculum decisions, and it is less easy to generalize than in 1986. Adverse economic conditions and increasing unemployment have concentrated media and school attention on 'skills for the future workforce'. However, conflict resolution, co-operation and dealing positively with crises are highly valued. Peace education tends to be embodied in classroom approaches rather than in subject matter. The environment and conservation are significant issues, which relate well to management of conflict. These topics are important in our schools."

VIEWS OF EDUCATORS AND RESEARCHERS WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN PEACE EDUCATION (THE PEC GROUP)

The Peace Education Commission (PEC) is a network within IPRA (the International Peace Reserch Association), established to facilitate inter-

national cooperation among individuals interested in peace education and research related to peace education (cf Percival, 1989). The members of this network were requested to fill in a questionnaire sent to them with other information and newsletter materials in 1991. Some of the questions were the same as those just reported on in the school authorities study. In this brief report we will, however, focus on some additional questions which try to illustrate other aspects.

Peace Education: Problems of Terminology and Acceptance

There are several indications in the literature and in the experiences of individuals that *the term "peace education"* is felt to be problematic and that people tend to avoid it. In order to get some idea of how widespread this phenomenon is, we put the following question to the PEC group: "Do teachers or school administrators often prefer to talk about issues related to peace education under other terms than 'peace education'? If yes: Which term or terms are most frequently used?"

Box 3 presents the responses given in the PEC groups to the first part of the question as well as examples of alternative expressions. The response distributions give a very clear picture, with essentially the same distribution in the total PEC group and the reduced group (where each geographical area was only represented by one individual). There is a very large number of Yes responses (around 60%) and fairly few No responses (around 25%). Peace education is apparently still "a controversial term", and this is true in many countries.

The alternative terms mentioned in reply to the last part of the question cover a large and multi-faceted spectrum. Among the most frequently mentioned terms are: conflict resolution, development education, environmental education, global education, human rights education, international education and political education. Other examples given include: antifascist education, citizen education, education for international understanding, multicultural education and world studies. It is easy to accept that most of these terms refer to educational ambitions more or less *related to* what peace educators mean by peace education. However, most of the terms refer to specific educational tasks which cannot be said to cover the same area. And the broad spectrum of suggestions is a problem in itself in the sense that *if* we should try to recommend an alternative term, there seems to be no generally accepted expression. Even though it may be natural for us, in some

Box 3. Do teachers or school administrators often prefer to talk about issues related to Peace Education under other terms than "Peace Education"? If Yes: Which term or terms are most frequently used? Responses given by the "PEC Groups" (PEC = Peace Education Commission).

Part I: Response distribution

Group	Yes	No	Other answer
"Total PEC" (n=80)	49 (61%)	21 (26%)	10 (13%)
"Reduced PEC" (n=46)	28 (61%)	12 (26%)	6 (13%)

Note: The "Total PEC" group consists of all the 80 individuals answering the PEC Questionnaire. The "Reduced PEC" group is a selected subgroup, in which there is only one respondent from each geographical area.

Part II: Examples of individual responses

Answer 2 (Peru): "Liberation education, critical thinking, awareness raising."

Answer 17 (England): "The term 'peace education' is not used at all by the vast majority of teachers and administrators. Probably the nearest term in current use is 'teaching about controversial issues'."

Part III: Alphabetical list of terminological examples (not complete)
/A few often mentioned terms are given in italics./

Antifascist education
awareness raising
citizen(ship) education
community relations education
conflict management
conflict resolution
cross-cultural education
cultural studies
democracy education
development education
disarmament education
ecological education
education for coexistence
education for international understanding
education for mutual understanding
education in the spirit of peace
environmental education
Gandhian studies
global education
global studies
human rights education
intercultural education
international education
international studies
liberation education
moral education
multicultural education
peace studies
political education
teaching about controversial issues
values education
world studies

practical work with schools, to adapt our terminology to what works out well in the local dialogue, there seems to be solid justification for our long-term effort to try to improve upon the connotations of "peace" and "peace education" rather than avoid these expressions (cf, for example, terminological discussions in Harris, Young & The Project, 1989; Hicks & The Project, 1990). Isn't it really an important task of peace education to transform terms like "peace" and "peace education" from "bad" words into "good" words?

However, it is not only the *term* "peace education" that is met with avoidance reactions. We have several indications that there have been difficulties in getting peace education generally accepted. Is this still true today, and how widespread is such potential resistance? In order to get some infor- mation on this matter, we included the following question in the PEC questionnaire: "Do you perceive any difficulties in getting peace education broadly accepted in your country? If Yes: Please specify the kinds of difficulties involved."

Box 4 contains basic information about the reactions from our PEC groups. The first part presents the basic data on the response distribution. We see that a large majority of the group – representing a broad range of geographical areas – perceive such difficulties in getting peace education accepted. Only about 20% say No, whereas about 75% say Yes. Again, the response distribution is essentially the same in both groups analyzed: Total and Reduced.

The character of the difficulties mentioned varies somewhat, as the examples given in Part II of Box 4 show. Many deal with the fact that the ideals and goals of peace education conflict with an established culture where nationalism, violence and militaristic traditions still play an important part. (Cf. different variations on this theme in answers 6, 7, 35, 42, 66 and 67 in Box 4, with representatives from England, Israel, Japan, and the United States.) Other answers focus on the lack of initiative or general slowness on the part of educational authorities (see answers 14 and 33), a lack of interest in the general public due to other issues attracting attention (see answer 27), or organizational problems within the school itself (see answer 5).

It seems to be an important task for educators and researchers interested in peace education to try to understand the character of the resistance or the difficulties in each particular area and to use this understanding to find better ways to overcome the barriers. The most difficult problem may be the fact that, in many countries, peace education faces an established culture which is

Box 4. Do you perceive any difficulties in getting "Peace Education" broadly accepted in your country? If Yes: Please specify the kinds of difficulties involved. Responses by the "PEC Groups".

Part I: Response distribution

Group	Yes	No	Other answer
"Total PEC" (n=80)	60 (75%)	16 (20%)	4 (5%)
"Reduced PEC" (n=46)	35 (76%)	10 (22%)	1 (2%)

Note: For the meaning of "Total PEC" and "Reduced PEC", cf. Box 3.

Part II: Examples of individual responses

Answer 5 (The Netherlands): P.E. is especially a problem of the timetable and of influencing the content (curricula, textbooks) of existing school subjects from a 'peace educational perspective'... I will emphasize the problem that teachers/schools are 'overburdened' with ever more new issues, whereas the timetable (the real possibilities to deal with these issues) is and becomes ever more restricted.

Answer 6 (England): P.E. is inevitably perceived as subversive by the educational establishment. The attempts to scandalise P.E. in the 1980s were partly successful. However, several local education authorities still have some kind of commitment to P.E.

Answer 7 (England): 'Mainstream' British culture, self-selected in the monopolistic media, is ... self-righteously bellicose (e.g. Falklands, Gulf). Peace is seen as marginal, subversive, unattractive and threatening – *but* the silent majority, the *real* culture of Britain, is essentially peace-loving...

Answer 12 (New Zealand): The new Conservative government (elected Nov. 1990) is deeply opposed to it. There is however still quite a lot of activity outside the formal areas of education, e.g. a Peace Van which visits schools.

Answer 14 (India): Lack of materials, lack of initiatives on the part of educational authorities.

Answer 27 (Zimbabwe): People less interested because they are busy with bread and butter issues.

Answer 33 (Russia): Educational authorities are very slow in their involvement in peace education.

Answer 35 (USA): This is a very threatening topic. Many people rely on violence, e.g. parents spank children, defense contractors build weapons...

Answer 42 (USA): Peace education broadly conceived is education for social change, and the U.S. is a very conservative country. Also very bellicose or can easily be whipped up to favor a war – e.g. recent Gulf War supported by 90+% of people.

Answer 66 (Japan): Education has become a means to seek for economically stable lives. Preparation for higher education dominates the atmosphere of all school education. The Japanese government wants to educate young people to be obedient labour power, to be more nationalistic rather than humanitarian.

Answer 67 (Israel): With the Intifada and the Shamir government, peace education is a low priority.

basically bellicose. It is very natural, then, that peace education meets with difficulties, but at the same time this makes peace education efforts all the more important. It certainly is no small task to change major trends in a culture, but education constitutes one natural arena where some progress in that direction can be made. How this can best be done at each particular time and place is something that peace educators and peace researchers have to work on, and many research disciplines may make contributions to this process.

The Goals of Peace Education

A crucial aspect of peace education – although too seldom discussed in detail – is what we try to achieve in terms of insights, skills, attitudes, values or behavior tendencies among the students. When approaching an expert group, such as the educators and researchers in the PEC network, it seemed natural to touch upon this aspect: the goals of peace education.

One part of the PEC questionnaire listed seventeen expressions for possible goals or subareas within peace education. The respondents were to mark those that were felt to be *relevant* for peace education. If possible, the three *most important* ones should be underlined. In addition, the respondents could add other goals or subareas.

The seventeen "goal expressions" used in the questionnaire are reproduced in Box 5. Three scores were calculated for each expression: R = the number of respondents who had marked this expression as "relevant"; MI = the number of respondents who had indicated this expression as belonging to the (three) most important ones; Combined Score = 1xR + 3xMI. Whereas the first two scores contain the basic summary of the responses, the third one is admittedly a more arbitrary kind of score, trying to combine the two basic pieces of information, giving the "most important" votes some extra weight.

Among the results, it can be noted that

- the *total goal area* was seen as quite broad: all seventeen expressions were selected as relevant and important;
- special emphasis was placed on global perspectives, ability to generate alternative visions, intercultural awareness, insights into the present injustice and lack of equality in the world society, and readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution;

Box 5. Goals of Peace Education as rated by the "Total PEC" Group (n=80).
R = The number of respondents who marked this expression as "relevant";
MI = The number of respondents who indicated this expression as belonging to the (three) most important ones;
Combined Score (1xR + 3xMI)

Possible goals or subareas within peace education	R	MI	Combined Score
1) Insights into the instabilities and risks of violence-based solutions	36	10	66
2) *Intercultural awareness*	43	13	82
3) *Global perspectives*	53	25	128
4) Ecological perspectives	38	3	47
5) *Insights into present injustice and lack of equality in the world society*	41	13	80
6) Awareness of prejudice	30	3	39
7) Ability to look critically at historical and present developments	39	9	66
8) *Ability to generate alternative visions*	46	14	88
9) Non-violence ethics	39	10	69
10) Global ethics based on human rights	43	11	76
11) Equality ideal	19	2	25
12) Taking the position: Shaping the future is our common task	26	5	41
13) Willingness and ambition to work for peace and against violence-based solutions	36	12	72
14) Broad field of responsibility	26	6	44
15) Involvement in the development of the world society	30	7	51
16) *Readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution*	39	13	78
17) Readiness to develop and work for alternative visions in cooperation with others	38	11	71

Additional goals or subareas of peace education: The respondents were asked: "Are there other goals or subareas of peace education in your view? If yes: Please write them down!" 61% of the group made no additions, while 39% added some formulations. Examples of individual responses:

Answer 13 (N. Ireland): Knowledge, understanding and skills associated with "good communication" and "interpersonal relations" so that young people are empowered to discuss rationally and investigate solutions to violence and injustice at all levels.

Answer 16 (United States): Development of skills of creative conflict resolution.

Answer 26 (Niedersachsen): To develop a democratic culture of disputing controversial issues (in German: "demokratische Streitkultur").

Answer 41 (The Philippines): 1) How the absence of peace is further perpetuated and strengthened by existing structures in some institutions, e.g. church, schools; 2) media awareness.

- importance was attached not only to cognitive aspects (such as intercultural awareness), but also to value perspectives (such as global ethics based on human rights) and to readiness for action (such as readiness tc work for justice and more equal distribution).

The respondents were asked to supplement the list of seventeen expressions with *additional goals* or subareas of peace education. The majority (about 60%) made no additions, while about 40% added some formulations. Some of these added expressions might perhaps be seen as alternative formulations closely related to the expressions already mentioned in the questionnaire, but some dealt with aspects that were not included in the list presented. Some examples of such individual responses are given at the bottom of Box 5.

In our work in Malmö with the goals or objectives of peace education, we have found it useful to group them in the way illustrated in Box 6. (An earlier version of this illustration was included in Bjerstedt, 1990b.)

We start from three psychological aspects, given as the headings of three columns: Cognitive components (knowledge, conceptions), value perspectives and forms of preparedness for action.

In addition, we have used four content-related areas in this analysis, presented in Box 6 as the headings of rows: they are briefly and tentatively labelled "Preparedness for Non-violence", "World Citizen Responsibility", "Egalitarian Attitudes", and "Readiness to Search Critically for Alternatives". As you can see, the seventeen expressions in the PEC Questionnaire were more or less directly taken from the cells of this 3 by 4 cell system.

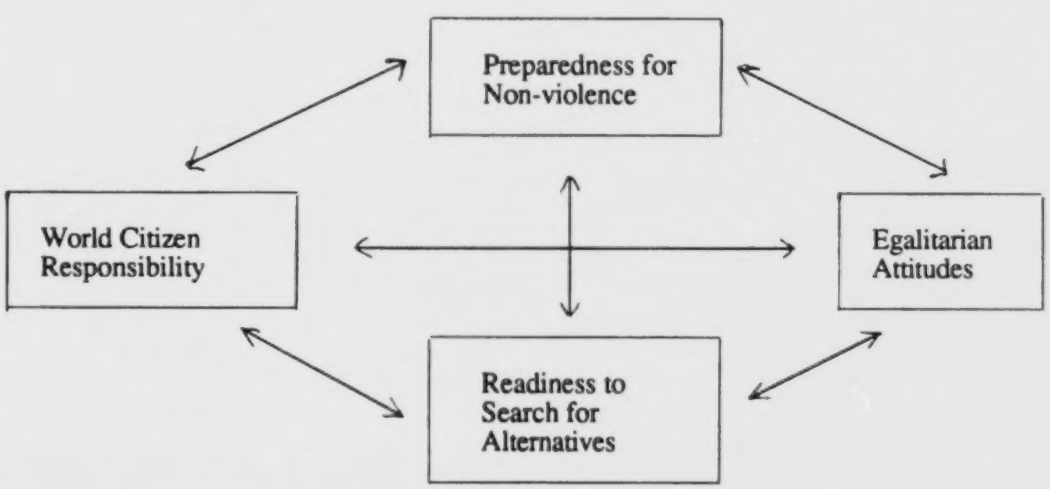
The responses of the PEC members can also be seen as some kind of check – and as a chance of improvement – of this goal description system. The fact that all seventeen expressions were selected as relevant and important (and perhaps also that the majority of the PEC respondents did not want to add anything here) might be seen as some kind of validation of the basic set-up of goal descriptions. In addition, a few improvements have been made by adding a couple of goal descriptions in Box 6 that were not included in our earlier versions but that appeared in the responses as additions to the list of goals.

Even though such attempts to divide the field of goals into twelve subareas give a useful basic overview, each subarea is still fairly large, which means that the subgoal categories should be further broken down into more specific and concrete formulations of objectives. How this can be done has been illustrated elsewhere (cf, for example, Bjerstedt, 1990b).

Box 6 Preparedness for Peace: Preparedness for Non-Violence, World Citizen Responsibility, Egalitarian Attitudes, and Readiness to Search for Alternatives – A schematic presentation of some components relevant to Peace Education.

	Cognitive Components, Skills	Value Perspectives	Preparedness for Action
Preparedness for Non-violence	Insights into the instabilities and risks of violence-based solutions; communication skills; conflict resolution skills	Non-violence ethics	Willingness and ambition to work for peace and against violence-based solutions
World Citizen Responsibility	Intercultural awareness; global/ecological perspectives	"Global ethics" based on "human rights"; respect for international law	Broad field of responsibility; involvement in the development of the world society
Egalitarian Attitudes	Insights into present injustice and lack of equality in the world society; awareness of prejudice	Equality ideal	Readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution, with an interested and tolerant attitude towards non-similar groups
Readiness to Search Critically for Alternatives	Ability to look critically at historical and present developments; media awareness; ability to generate alternative visions	Taking the position: "Shaping the future is our common task"	Readiness to develop and work for alternative visions in cooperation with others

"EDUCATION FOR PEACE" involves educational efforts to enhance four interacting "goal areas":



SUMMARY AND FINAL COMMENTS

In this brief report we have analyzed the results from two questionnaire studies on the situation of peace education in different countries or regions. One of the studies approached *school authorities* (ministries of education or similar offices). The analyses deal with a "total group" of 125 geographical units answering in 1991-92 as well as with a special "comparison group" of 100 areas which were studied both in 1985-86 and in 1991-92. The other study collected views from a group of *educators and researchers with special interest in peace education* – members of the PEC (Peace Education Commission) network. In this case, the analyses deal with a "total group" of 80 such specialists as well as with a "reduced group" of 46 people (in which only one representative from each area was included).

We *summarize* some of the results in the following brief observations:

(1) The school authorities were asked whether or not the country or region had included some *explicit recommendations* in official documents for the schools that the teaching should include questions of peace or "peace education". We found now a No-Yes proportion (excluding "other answers") of about 60 % No versus 40 % Yes; and we observed that the answer patterns were very similar in this respect in the middle of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s.

(2) Answers on the existence of *instructional materials* dealing with peace education showed a higher proportion of Yes answers, but again the response distributions were quite similar in the old and the new study.

(3) Answers on the occurrence of *recent public discussion* on peace education showed a change: In the Comparison Group, the Yes proportion decreased from about 70 % to about 50 %. Obviously, there is less debate about peace education today.

(4) *Comparing groups of countries, states or regions*, we found a marked difference between the European group and the United States as to explicit recommendations for schools, with considerably fewer such recommendations in the United States. The drop in public attention to peace education in terms of debates was most noticeable in Europe.

(5) When the school authorities themselves made a *general assessment of change or similarities* in the situation of peace education, rather few found the situation now to be "quite different"; most judged it as "identical" or "similar".

(6) When asked for a more specific assessment of change, a substantial group of the school authorities tended to find that peace education had be-

come *less controversial*, that *more teachers* were working with peace education, that peace education had become *more visible*, and that peace education was now more often seen as a *broad area*.

(7) The group of experts (the PEC group) was, among other things, asked about perceived *reactions to the term "peace education"*: whether teachers and school administrators tended to talk about issues related to peace education under other names than peace education. Around 60 % said Yes, as opposed to only around 25 % No. The alternative terms mentioned varied over a large spectrum.

(8) The experts were also asked whether they perceived any *difficulties in getting peace education broadly accepted* in their country. Only about 20 % said No, whereas about 75 % said Yes. A large number of difficulties of various kinds were mentioned, including the fact that the ideals of peace education were often seen as conflicting with the values of the established culture.

(9) The experts got a list of seventeen possible expressions for *goals of peace education* and were instructed to mark those that were felt to be relevant as well as the three most important ones. They were also asked about additional goal formulations. It was noted that the goal area was seen as quite broad; all the seventeen expressions were selected as relevant and important. Special emphasis was placed on global perspectives and ability to generate alternative visions.

If we should try to make some *overall judgements* of the situation of peace education at the beginning of the 1990s and its recent development, these are some of the comments that come to mind:

So far, many countries do not have any recommendations on peace education in their official texts for schools. Hence, we still have a long way to go before peace education is generally seen as a normal and important ingredient in the school system.

Nevertheless, there is a substantial minority of countries or other regions where such recommendations exist. Compared to the situation 20 years or so ago, this is a new development which encourages some hope. In the mid-1980s we could see a fairly widespread activity in committees working in this area, trying to give school-based peace education a concrete form and legalization. However, there has been fairly little further development during the last five years or so; that is, our studies show no marked increase in the number of authorities including recommendations of this type.

Another somewhat disappointing aspect is that we do not see any distinct development in the spread of teaching materials in this field to new areas.

Even though the majority of our school authorities judge the situation of peace education as identical or similar over the half decade studied here, a substantial group of them indicate *some* changes in positive directions. For example, it is reported in a number of areas that peace education has become less controversial and that more teachers are working with peace education.

That the general development in this field has been fairly slow is also confirmed by our expert group, and this is mirrored in their special judgments about the resistance toward peace education as a term and about the fact that it is difficult to get peace education generally accepted.

In general, then, seen in a short perspective, we have a situation close to status quo but with some positive developments. Seen in a somewhat longer perspective, the development can be described in more positive terms. But it is quite clear that those interested in peace education have some work to do. It should be a very important task in the coming years for educators and researchers interested in peace education to try to better understand the character of the resistance or the difficulties in each particular area and to use this understanding to find better ways to overcome the barriers.

In some areas these difficulties are great, since peace education faces an established culture which is basically bellicose. Hence, we should not expect quick success stories in this field. Nevertheless, there are sufficient positive developments over the last few decades to make it justified for us to continue our efforts with some hope for long-term progress in this important field.

A final note on the *trustworthiness of information* gathered by means of international surveys of the present type may be in order. It is quite obvious that single answers (especially simple reactions of the Yes and No type) can give misleading information in some cases. Even if the respondents from school authorities usually have posts that should give them considerable insight into the school system of their country or state, we cannot always be sure of their detailed knowledge about various phenomena – and perhaps not even of their complete honesty. If one, therefore, has to interpret separate reactions with some degree of caution (and try to find "validating support" in other information from the same region), it nevertheless seems possible to draw certain conclusions about the general trends in the result pattern; and it is, in fact, only such general trends that we have dealt with in this brief report. When the brief questionnaire replies were supplemented by informative letters and supporting documents of various kinds, the answers were very useful to us. We hope to make more use of this information in a later, more detailed report.

We also want to continue our attempts to gather more detailed information about the situation in different countries or regions by means of *other approaches*, including articles submitted to our PEC journal ("Peace, Environment and Education") – articles of the type illustrated by Lawson & Hutchinson (1992) – as well as tape-recorded interviews with experts in the field from various corners of the world (cf Bjerstedt 1990a, 1991 and 1992).

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PEACE EDUCATION IN BRITAIN AND JAPAN: A COMPARISON

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Abstract

Peace education can be considered as one of the important social processes necessary to construct a peaceful world. This paper tries to compare the development of peace education in Britain and Japan. I itemize the findings of my study in the form of a number of propositions which contrast the differences of two systems of peace education.

In Britain, education for peace is an established educational tradition as old as this century, but the peace education movement first became widespread in Britain from 1980. British peace education investigates the causes of conflict and violence, and encourages students' search for alternatives to solve them. Peace education, however, is often regarded as one of the controversial issues in Britain. Therefore the balance of teaching resources and neutrality of teachers are considered to be important factors for its teaching.

In Japan, peace education began its big leap forward in 1951. After the regression of peace education (1955-1965), peace education to pass on the A-bomb experience was revived after the mid 1960s. The purpose of Japanese peace education is usually to foster children's attitude against wars by passing on the last war experience. The children are also expected to understand the miserable experience of the A-bomb victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and sympathize with them. The necessity to inform the peoples of the world of the A-bomb experience (internationalization of the A-bomb experience) is well-recognized in Japan.

The just war theory is widely accepted in Britain and has a great influence on British peace education, but Japanese peace education clearly has the nature of pacifism. This is one of the important differences which should be recognized by Japanese peace educators. I think that A-bomb education to pass on the A-bomb experience should continue taking the main position in Japanese peace education until nuclear disarmament is achieved.

1 DIFFERENT SITUATIONS FOR PEACE EDUCATION

Historical, political and educational backgrounds for peace education differ among different nations. The differences in the backgrounds of Britain and Japan are described below.

Historical Difference

Passing on the last war experience is the main characteristic of Japanese peace education. Japanese people have tried to pass on the experience of the last war continuously since its end. The Second World War was the last and the lost war for the Japanese, and it was a miserable experience of little food and burnt houses. It ended with the nuclear disaster in two cities. Therefore passing on the experience of the last war can become an effective and powerful method for peace education in Japan.

On the other hand, the Second World War was not the last war for British people. After the Second World War Britain entered some conflicts in former colonial countries, the Falkland War and recently the Gulf War. So, when it comes to passing on a war experience, the British war experience is different from the Japanese one.

Furthermore, the British position in the Second World War was different from the Japanese one. Japan joined the camp of totalitarianism with Hitler's Germany and invaded neighbouring countries. Britain joined the camp against totalitarianism and fought to liberate invaded nations, and the war ended with a victory. The Second World War was a bad military operation which should be regretted heartily by Japanese people, but it was an honorable military action for Britain. Therefore, when Japanese try to pass on the war experience, they teach children about the damage caused by the war and the Japanese invasion of neighbouring countries. It usually aims to foster children's attitude against all wars. In Britain, however, learning about the Second World War becomes a study about a glorious history of brave battles, and would make children support the just war theory. Consequently such learning leads to foster British children's patriotism.

Passing on the A-bomb experience is the main method for Japanese nuclear education. The historical meaning of dropping nuclear weapons in the Second World War differs for Japan and Britain. The A-bomb in the war was a symbol of victory for Britain, one of the Allied Nations, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was justified because it ended the war quickly and saved the lives of many British and allied soldiers. On

the other hand Japanese Hibakusha, who experienced the nuclear disasters in Hiroshima or Nagasaki, do not allow any justification of using nuclear weapons. Therefore many British people still think that nuclear weapons are a necessary evil for their defence, but most Japanese think that they are an absolute evil.

Political Difference

An important political difference is that Britain is nuclear armed, unlike Japan. Since Britain has nuclear defence forces, she has undertaken the risk of becoming a nuclear battlefield or being involved in a nuclear war. As for Japan, the Self-Defence Force has no nuclear weapons, so Japan has reduced the risk of being attacked first by nuclear weapons. Only when a US-Russia or US-China nuclear war happens, could Japan be involved in a nuclear war, because the US bases which control the US nuclear weapons are located in Japan. Japan's defence policy is based on the Three Non- nuclear Principles, which is radically different from British defence policy.

Educational Difference

The system of educational administration in Britain is rather decentralized compared with that of Japan. The Japanese educational system is more centralized; for example, the Course of Study (the guidelines of the curriculum) is issued and school textbooks are authorized by the Ministry of Education. In Japan the Ministry of Education has a broad power in educational administration, with local Boards of Education playing a subsidiary role.

British teachers can select textbooks for themselves, and principals or head teachers approve the textbooks chosen. Each teacher has to make a syllabus for teaching children in his or her own way. School textbooks are not authorized by the Department of Education and Science in Britain. British teachers are expected to have enough knowledge and possess suitable methods to teach a new topic or subject. Thus in Britain the Local Education Authorities have a broader and more independent power in educational administration than in Japan – even after the Education Reform Act (1988) was enacted.

Japanese teachers have much less freedom in making the curriculum than British teachers. They still have two ways to deal with a new topic which is not in textbooks. One is to apply pressure to put the teaching materials for

that topic in school textbooks. The other is to issue a supplementary reader on that topic by teachers themselves. The topics which teachers have tried to teach children without using official textbooks were, for example, the Self Defence Forces, the Japan-US Security Treaty, prejudice and discrimination, the A-bomb experience, and recently the environmental problem.

The educational method is also different between Japan and Britain. The number of children in a class is less than forty in Japan, and this number is large when compared with the British number. The Japanese teaching method is usually for one teacher to cram a lot of knowledge into children's heads. On the other hand, the British teaching method makes much more use of the individual interest and capability of the children. So it can be said that, as for teaching methods, British teachers educate children in a more peaceful way.

2 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO SYSTEMS OF PEACE EDUCATION

Below, I itemize the findings of my study (Murakami, 1992) in the form of a number of propositions which contrast the differences. Some of these propositions are proved but others should be tested in further studies.

1) The Development of Peace Education

The history of the term "peace education":

Britain: The term "peace education" has been seldom used in Britain till the late 1970s, then the term became widely used by press, politicians and teachers in the 1980s.

Japan: The term "peace education" has been used since 1951, firstly by the Japan Teachers Union.

The history of peace education:

B.: Education for peace is an established educational tradition, as old as this century, but the peace education movement first became widespread in Britain from 1980.

J.: Peace education began its big leap forward in 1951. After the regression of peace education (1955-1965), peace education to pass on the A-bomb experience was revived after 1965.

Institutionalization of peace education:

B.: Networking of peace education began in the late 1970s.

J.: The institutionalization of peace education began earlier in Japan. The system to push the peace education movement forward was established by teachers' unions.

The influence of peace studies:

B.: The development of peace studies in the 1970s advanced major theories of peace education.

J.: The development of peace studies after the 1970s promoted setting up of courses concerning peace in colleges and universities. It broadened the scope of the contents of peace education.

2) The Nature of Peace Education

The structure of peace education:

Britain: Much attention is directed to the difference between education for peace and education about peace. Educating about peace without the peaceful method is not considered peace education.

Japan: Peace education can be conducted in two ways, which are direct peace education and indirect peace education. Indirect peace education is considered to form a basis for direct peace education. Japanese teachers and parents usually consider only direct peace education as peace education.

The aim of peace education:

B.: Peace education investigates the causes of conflict and violence with a balanced approach, and encourages students' search for alternatives to solve them.

J.: The main purpose of peace education is to foster children's attitude against wars by passing on the last war experience.

The scope of peace education:

B.: The contents of peace education are not only about negative peace but also about positive peace. Peace education is often misunderstood to be the same as nuclear education. Teaching nuclear issues is one part of the contents of peace education.

J.: Learning about the experience of the Second World War and the disaster of the A-bomb have been the main contents of peace education. Passing on the war experience is thought to be very important, but a wider scope of peace education as education for positive peace began to be con-

sidered important.

The family of peace education:

B.: The family of peace education in Britain comprises education about conflict, justice and development, power, gender, race, environment, and the future (cf. Hicks, 1988).

J.: The family in Japan includes education for international understanding, education for human rights, and recently also development education and environmental studies.

The just war theory:

B.: In peace education, British children do not learn about a particular war. Learning about war does not always lead them to think that war is absolutely bad. But the children tend to approve the just war theory through studying British history.

J.: The war which Japanese children learn about in peace education is the Second World War. After learning about the last war experience, many of them tend to think that war is absolutely bad.

Controversial issue:

B.: Peace education is often regarded as one of the controversial issues in education. Teachers are expected to approach the practice of peace education professionally. On the other hand, education for peace is thought of as an important practice in the tradition of British education.

J.: Peace education is widely practised in schools and the peace education movement is supported by many teachers and parents. But peace education has been criticized by the opposing groups.

Teachers' consciousness of indoctrination:

B.: Teachers try not to indoctrinate children in peace education, but they try to present them with balanced views on peace problems, and to help children to think objectively about the problems for themselves.

J.: Teachers let children read or listen to the testimonies of the victims of the last war, especially of the A-bomb survivors, and to follow emotionally their miserable experiences. Thus teachers usually choose an emotional method to achieve the aim of peace education.

Relation with political movement:

B.: Peace education is supported and developed by the National Union of Teachers, but NUT decided not to affiliate with the CND in 1982.

J.: Peace education has been supported by the Japan Teachers Union, and JTU is the main organizer of the nuclear disarmament movement in Japan. JTU has affiliated with the Socialist Party (which changed its English name to the Social Democratic Party) since 1961.

3) The Development of Nuclear Education

The aim of nuclear education:

Britain: The aim of nuclear education is to let children think rationally on nuclear issues.

Japan: The aim of nuclear education is to let children have a negative attitude towards nuclear weapons.

The contents of nuclear education:

B.: The contents of nuclear education are, for example, the development of nuclear weapons, the nuclear arms race, nuclear deterrence, and the effects of a nuclear explosion. (City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985.)

J.: The main content of nuclear education is the human and social damages of the Atomic bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The story about the fishermen radiated by the Hydrogen bomb test on Bikini Island in the Pacific Ocean is sometimes told.

The method of nuclear education:

B.: Teachers let their students objectively apprehend nuclear issues. Therefore, the balance of teaching resources and neutrality of teachers are considered to be important factors for its teaching.

J.: Passing on the A-bomb experience in Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been the important method of nuclear education. The children are expected to understand the miserable experience of the A-bomb victims and show sympathy towards them.

The position of nuclear education in peace education:

B.: Teaching about A-bombs dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki is one part of nuclear education. Furthermore nuclear education is one part of peace education.

J.: Education about the A-bomb experience has been the main part of peace education.

Political response to nuclear education:

B.: Nuclear education is sometimes criticized for being biased by conservative groups.

J.: Nuclear education is not usually criticized officially, but is also not supported enthusiastically by the educational administration.

Nuclear deterrence:

B.: Teachers present children various opinions on nuclear deterrence in nuclear education in order to let them think objectively on this matter.

J.: Teachers do not teach children about the validity of nuclear deterrence in nuclear education. Most of the teachers who practise nuclear education seem to be "nuclear pacifists".

Parents' support for nuclear education:

B.: Parents' values and positions on nuclear issues are widely different. It is important for teachers to respect parents' positions by making all viewpoints legitimate in teaching nuclear issues.

J.: Nuclear disarmament is largely supported by Japanese parents, for the Japanese nation has the common experience of nuclear disaster in her history. So the balance and the neutrality in nuclear education are not highly considered in the practice.

Similarities of Peace Education

Having described the differences between British and Japanese peace education above, it is useful to point out some similarities.

1. The peace education movement was organized in Britain and Japan, and both countries had their pioneers and promoters. Among many groups, teachers' unions have pushed the peace education movement forward most actively in the two countries.
2. Teachers in both countries have an academic freedom to deal with teaching materials for peace education. The practice of peace education needs the freedom to object to the national system, because it sometimes criticizes foreign and defence policy and attacks the inequality and non-democracy of the social system. Educational administration and society generally permit the practice of peace education in both countries to a certain extent.
3. The parents and teachers have widely supported the peace education movement. In the early 1980s they were conscious of the danger that a

hot war might happen between the West and East blocks. At that time the peace groups against nuclear weapons played an important role in developing the peace education movement in both countries.

3 THE INTERRELATIONS OF TWO SYSTEMS OF PEACE EDUCATION

We can mention some examples of interrelations of peace education in Britain and Japan. *Education for Peace* written by H. Read has been widely read by Japanese educators since it was published here in 1952. It brightened up the hearts of Japanese teachers hoping for a peaceful world.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) established in Britain in 1941 played an important role in introducing education for international understanding into other nations, and it also supported the UNESCO Associated School Project (Nagai, 1985, p. 150). This education for international understanding was also introduced into Japanese schools and the UNESCO Associated School Project started in 1954. Japanese teachers understood the importance of this education and considered it a good way to realize international peace (ibid., p. 70). The Associated School Project was initiated by the Ministry of Education in Japan, and JTU, which resisted the Ministry, were not positive to it, so this project could not get wide support.

New educational trends belonging to the "family" of peace education, such as Multicultural Education, Global Education, Development Education and World Studies, were introduced into Japanese education from the 1970s, and some of them had started in Britain and became popular in Japan. After the East-West tension was dramatically reduced by the policies of Gorbachev, some Japanese peace educators, who practised A-bomb education, began to also practise education for positive peace, such as Development Education and Environmental Studies.

The nuclear arms race continued and ever more nuclear weapons were stockpiled in the 1970s and the early 1980s. Many people in Britain began to take an interest in nuclear weapons after 1979, when the danger of nuclear war in Europe became greater by the dual-track decision of NATO. In this situation, some of the people who had supported nuclear deterrence changed their views and supported nuclear disarmament. As the A-bomb experience in Hiroshima concretely told British people the danger of becoming a nuclear battlefield, the number of people who took an interest in the Japanese experience increased in this period.

"Hiroshima" is usually taught in British nuclear education when the teachers show the effects of a nuclear explosion. Historical facts, scientific data of the damage, and testimonies by the A-bomb survivors are effective ways to inform children of the disaster of nuclear war. When the explosive power of nuclear weapons is taught, the power is always compared with that of the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, because children can infer the damage of it through the example of Hiroshima. In this sense Hiroshima alarms British children and people to prevent another nuclear war.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Mushakoji (1974, p. 3) generalized that peace education in Europe amounted to education for international understanding. However, peace education in Britain has other aspects. Judging by the typology by Okamoto (1982, p. 231), British peace education has the perspective of peace education both as *liberation* (Type B) and as *criticism of war* (Type A). Particularly when the danger of nuclear war escalated in the early 1980s, a peace education movement focusing on nuclear issues was widely supported. But nuclear education is one part of British peace education. The method of peace education is as important as its contents in British peace education. So peace education has the nature of a *learning process* (Type C). Thus British peace education has the perspectives of Type A, B and C.

The dominant method of Japanese peace education has been passing on the horrible experiences of the Second World War to the younger generation (criticism of war; Type A). The aim of Japanese peace education is to foster children's attitude against war by passing on the last war experiences. The contents of her peace education are thus past-oriented. Being past-oriented itself is not problematic – in Pope's words, "To remember the past is to commit oneself to the future". (The City of Hiroshima, 1983, p. 1.) The peace education movement in Japan has tried to pass on the A-bomb experience not only to her nation but also to the peoples of the world through internationalization of the information about the A-bomb disaster.

Exchanging with overseas peace education in the 1970s and 1980s, Japanese peace education developed its perspective. For example, it began to teach about Japanese invasions of neighbouring countries in the last war. It also began to teach about the North-South problem and the environmental problem in order to accomplish her duty as a member of the global society. Today many Japanese go abroad and many foreigners reside in Japan, so the

Japanese have to think about ethnic problems and those of overseas laborers in Japan. Thus Japanese peace education dealt with Japanese invasion in the Second World War and interrelations with developing countries (liberation; Type B) in the 1980s.

Japan has a double advantage in developing nuclear education as compared with Britain. Historically, Japan has an A-bomb experience, and the A-bomb Teachers Organization has played a very active role in improving A-bomb education. Politically, she is not nuclear armed, and she has the Three Non-Nuclear Principles. A-bomb education has taken a major position in peace education, and peace educators have produced many teaching materials.

Britain's defence policy is based on nuclear arms. Therefore when British teachers criticize nuclear weapons in class, it means that they are encouraging their children to have an attitude against the national defence policy, and the teachers might be criticized for being biased. So in Britain a teaching method for nuclear education must be thought out in order to avoid disputes and criticism. Educational methods for teaching controversial issues have been well investigated in Britain, but Japanese scholars and teachers have not paid much attention to the method. Just as in Britain, Japan needs to study the method of teaching controversial issues.

Britain has entered many wars in the past and won most of them, so her nation tends to support the just war theory. For example, the Imperial War Museum in London does not foster people's attitude against any kinds of wars, but it seems that visitors to the War Museum are encouraged to have a strong will to fight for the just cause rather than to be negative about war. So the role of the War Museum is different from that of the Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima. From the viewpoint of the Hiroshima Museum, it can be said that the strong British readiness to enter wars which are claimed to be just wars, should be modified into an attitude to exert all possible efforts to avoid wars. On the other hand, pacifism is a characteristic of many Japanese people, but Japanese pacifism is not accepted by Japan's allies. The Japanese attitude against any kinds of wars is based on their history, so their attitude will not change in the near future. We understand that Japanese peace education clearly has the nature of pacifism, and that the just war theory is widely admitted in Britain. This is one of the important differences which should be recognized by Japanese peace educators.

A recent reduction of the East-West tension and the democratization of Eastern Europe after 1989 could not be predicted. The end of the cold war has almost removed the danger of nuclear war in Europe. In this inter-

national situation nuclear education is no longer an urgent subject. Nuclear education does not take up as significant a position in peace education now as it did before. But nuclear weapons might be used in regional conflicts like the Gulf War, so nuclear education should be practised in areas wherever international conflicts may occur. As nuclear disarmament is still a high ideal of mankind, nuclear education should be developed to reach this ideal. I think that A-bomb education to pass on the A-bomb experience should continue taking the main position in Japanese peace education until nuclear disarmament is achieved.

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Appendix

CHRONOLOGY OF PEACE EDUCATION IN BRITAIN: EVENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Note: [ ] shows events and publications outside Britain.

1950 *Education for Peace* (Read)
1970 [Peace Education Commission (PEC) set up in IPRA.]
1973 World Studies Project begun.
1973 The School of Peace Studies established in Bradford University.
1974 UNESCO recommendation on Education for International Understanding.
1974 [*Handbook on Peace Education* (PEC)]
1975 [*Education for Peace* (WCCI)]
1976 DES (Department of Education and Science) sent out a circular UNESCO Recommendation to LEAs (local educational authorities).
1976 Peace Studies Project started in Atlantic College.
1978 [The First UN Disarmament Education Conference held.]
1979 Peace Education Network (PEN) set up.
1979 The dual-track decision of NATO on INF.
1980 The Labour Party adopted a unilateral nuclear disarmament policy (-1989).
1980 The Centre for Peace Studies set up in St. Martin's College.
1980 [World conference on disarmament education by UNESCO.]
1981 Statement on peace education was issued by NUT and NATFHE.
1981 Teachers for Peace (TfP) set up.
1982 The World Studies Teachers Training Centre established.
1982 The Council of LEA decided not to urge the introduction of peace studies courses into schools.
1982 The NUT decided not to affiliate with the CND in its annual conference.
1982 Working party for peace education established in Avon LEA.
1982 *Education for Peace* (Hicks)
1983 [NATO deployed new medium-range missiles.]
1983 *The Contemporary Peace Education Movement* (Young)
1983 *Peace Education Guidelines* (Avon LEA)
1984 *Education for Peace*, a booklet (NUT)
1984 *Peace Studies: A Critical Survey* (Cox and Scruton)
1984 *Education for Peace* (Sheffield LEA)

1984 *Peace Education in Great Britain*, a survey of peace education (Rathenow)
1985 *Nuclear Issues in Education* (Newcastle upon Tyne LEA)
1985 *Policy Statement on Education for Peace* (Birmingham)
1986 *Teaching Nuclear Issues* (Hicks)
1987 [INF talks was agreed upon.]
1988 *Education for Peace* (Hicks)
1989 The Labour Party abandoned the unilateral nuclear disarmament policy.

CHRONOLOGY OF PEACE EDUCATION IN JAPAN: EVENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

1945 Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1951 *A-bomb Child* (Osada)
1951 JTU adopted the slogan, "Never again send our pupils and students to the battle field".
1954 Law of Governing Provisional Measures for Securing of Political Neutrality of Compulsory Education was enacted.
1955 The First World Conference against A- and H-bombs.
1955 Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima opened.
1956 The Council of Japan A-bomb Victims Organizations set up.
1968 The government adopted the policy of the Three Non-nuclear Principles.
1969 Hiroshima A-bomb Teachers Organisation (HATO) set up.
1969 *Hiroshima*, for teaching materials of "A-Bomb" (HATO).
1971 The Japan Atomic Bomb Teachers Organization set up.
1971 The Society to Pass On the Experience of the Air Raid on Tokyo set up.
1971 *Let's Cry for Peace* (HATO)
1972 Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education (HIPE) established.
1972 *A-bomb: A City Tells Its Story* (Hiroshima Peace Culture Centre)
1973 First National Symposium of Peace Education.
1973 The Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) set up.
1973 Hiroshima Board of Education issued *Handbook of Peace Education*.
1973 *Peace Education Studies* [first number].
1973 *Handbook of Peace Education*, for elementary school (Hiroshima B. of E.).
1974 Peace education division set up in the Japanese Society for the Study of Education.
1974 *Handbook of Peace Education*, for lower secondary school (Hiroshima B. of E.)
1974 *Peace Education Movement* [first number]
1975 Institute for Peace Science established in Hiroshima University.

1975 *A Standard Curriculum for Peace Education Draft*, for preschool, elementary school and junior high school (HIPE): English version in 1980.

1976 *Peace Education* [first number]

1976 Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation set up.

1977 International Symposium on the Damage and After-effects of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (UN, NGO).

1977 *Hiroshima – Living in This Nuclear Age*, Teaching Materials for Secondary School (HIPE): English version published in 1980.

1978 *Teaching Guide on Peace* (Nagasaki B. of E.)

1978 *Peace Education for Preschool Children* (Fujii)

1979 The Hibakusha travel grant program (the Akiba project) started.

1980- The lectures on peace studies in universities and colleges increased.

1981 *Encyclopedia for Practice of Peace Education* (HIPE).

1982 International Symposium on Disarmament Education by WCOTP held in Hiroshima.

1982 Lecture series entitled Peace Education begun in Kobe University.

1985 *Handbook of Peace Education*, for senior high school (Hiroshima B. of E.)

1986 *Hiroshima – Hiroshima and the 15 Year War*, Teaching Materials for Secondary School (HIPE): English version in 1986.

1987 *Proposition on Peace Education in Schools* (Kanagawa prefecture).

1991 Osaka International Peace Centre opened.

Note: Some comments by David Hicks, U.K.

Knowing how difficult it is to describe complex educational phenomena in other countries, the editor asked Dr. David Hicks, one of the key persons in British peace education, to read Toshifumi Murakami's article and react to the picture given of British developments. This was David Hicks' answer:

"Several of the comments about peace education in the U.K. are overgeneralisations or make its incidence seem more widespread than it was. However, I think it is *largely OK as it stands*, given that it is an outsider's view of the scene.

There needs to be, however, a note ... which says this paper describes *peace education in the U.K. as it was, c. 1980-88*. It no longer holds true today due to the changes brought about by the Education Reform Act and the introduction of a National Curriculum." (Italics here added by the editor.)

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part 3:
concepts and methods

LINGUISTIC RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS

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1. Introduction

1.1. An overview of the main arguments of the paper

This paper looks at one type of structural violence; linguistic oppression. It argues that linguistic rights should be seen as elementary human rights. It looks at the situation in the former colonies in Africa and describes how the old colonial powers are moving back in, tightening their cultural grip on former colonies by strenghtening the old colonial languages. The situation in Tanzania is looked into in some detail. The use of the vernacular in contrast to a foreign language as the language of instruction is looked at from an educational viewpoint. The argument is advanced that results from educational and linguistic research showing the great advantages of the use of the vernacular as a language of instruction are not listened to for several reasons:

1. first a distrust by some people of the motives of those who advance the arguments in favor of the mother tongue;

2. secondly - coupled with this distrust - an emotional lesson from the colonial times - a colonial hangover breeding contempt for one's own culture and admiration of the culture of the colonizers;

3. thirdly a feeling by the elites that the use of a foreign language as a language of instruction - even though their own children would also learn better in the vernacular - still will strengthen their children in comparison to other children in the country. In this way language becomes a powerful mechanism for social stratification.

The interests of the elites coincide with the economic interests of the former colonial powers. The right to learn through an indigenous language is being undermined both by the elites and by economic interest groups within the expansionist western powers. An intellectual recolonization of Africa is going on.

1.2. Language - culture expressing itself in sound

Language is, as folklorist Crats Williams writes "culture expressing itself in sound" (quoted in Ovando, 1990, p. 341). It gives individuals and groups their identity. There is a powerful connection between language and socio-cultural identity. The language you learnt your first words in, the language your mother spoke to you, the language which was used in your nearest surroundings and which you use with your closest family and friends will always be a part of your identity as a person.

When you learn a new language, you also learn a new culture. That can be an enriching experience, provided that experience does not teach you to look down on your own mother tongue and thus at part of your own identity.

1.3. Imposed medium of communication - spiritual subjugation

African countries, as colonies and even to-day as so-called "independent" countries, came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the languages of Europe: English-speaking, French-speaking or Portugese-speaking African countries.

The Kenyan author, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) tells movingly about his own school experience. His mother tongue is Gikuyu and that was the language of all the evening teach-ins around the fireplace when he was young, the language used with friends and in the field where he was working. In his first school years he went to a school run by nationalists grouped around the Gikuyu Independent and Karinga Schools Association. The language of instruction in this school was Gikuyu, so for the first four years of his schooling there was harmony between the language of his formal education and the language he spoke at home, in the fields and with his friends. He tells how after the state of emergency in Kenya in 1952 all the schools run by patriotic nationalists were taken over by the colonial regime and were placed under District Education Boards chaired by Englishmen, and English was made the language of instruction. Ngugi wa Thiong'o recalls that in Kenya, English became more than a language, it was *the* language and all the other languages had to bow to it in deference. He tells how one of the most humiliating ex- periences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks – or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford. And how did the teachers catch the culprits? Thiong'o tells how a button was initially

given to one pupil who was supposed to hand it over to whoever was caught speaking his mother tongue. Whoever had the button at the end of the day had to come forward and tell whom he had got it from and the ensuing process would bring out all the culprits of the day. Thus children were turned into witch-hunters and traitors to their own immediate community.

The African child learnt to associate his own language with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow-footed intelligence or downright stupidity. Because any achievement in spoken or written English was highly rewarded through prizes and through the prospects of climbing up the educational ladder, knowledge of English came to be associated with intelligence and prospects for success.

2. Linguistic Oppression as a Concern for Peace Research

2.1. Linguistic rights as human rights

The UN charter on human rights does not explicitly mention the right to a vernacular language. The right to an education in one's own mother tongue has, however, been recorded in Article 27 of the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1966. Further on the UN Draft Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights states:

> "Indigenous nations and peoples have the right to be educated and conduct business with States in their own languages and to establish their own educational institutions." (§ 12)

In a PRIO-publication called "Languages at the margins of modernity" Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1991) maintains that "Linguistic rights should be seen as elementary human rights." (Eriksen, 1991, p. 42). He maintains that a focus on the less obvious forms of oppression such as linguistic oppression should be an integral part of conflict studies and peace research.

2.2. Linguistic imperialism as a case of structural violence

Peace is a state where both negative and positive peace exist. Negative peace can be defined as the absence of direct violence. The Swedish peace researcher Håkan Wiberg (1990) admits that it is not enough to say that positive peace requires the absence of structural violence. What about cultural freedom and identity? he asks. He maintains that "positive peace requires the absence of structural violence as well as of social and cultural violence." (Wiberg, 1990, p. 36.)

The right to receive education through the medium of the vernacular, through a language of closeness and great familarity, has to do with respect for a person's identity and culture.

In a discussion of the peace concept I have made an analytical division of the concept into six cells (Brock-Utne,1989, p. 47). I show that within the structural violence category we have two rather separate groups of phenomena, the one which leads to premature deaths, to unequal life chances, and the other which leads to a life of lesser quality, of unused potentialities, of alienation. It is within this category that we find linguistic oppression exerted by a more powerful group on a less powerful one. This linguistic oppression is a type of cultural violence.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen sees the nation-state as the linguistic oppressor and claims that: "The nation-state is always a much more powerful agent than the minorities which oppose it" (Eriksen,1991, p. 17). Through my own experiences in Tanzania I beg to differ with this statement. When we look at the linguistic situation of Tanzania, we see a situation where the nation-state primarily has been promoting a language spoken, at least as the second language, by more than ninety percent of the population and where a majority language – Kiswahili – is threatened by a minority language – English – only spoken by five percent of the population. I show in this paper that there are powerful groups in the western countries having vested interests in promoting the former colonial languages. These groups have, however, powerful allies among the established elite in African countries.

Through studying what is happening with the African languages at the moment we may learn something about the alliance between the former colonial powers and the elites of the poor African nations to the detriment of the great masses of Africans.

Note: This text is an extract from the full paper (28 pages).

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UNESCO APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

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Introduction

Members of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), and more especially so the members of the IPRA Peace Education Commission are familiar with UNESCO's work in the field of international education. In fact, UNESCO has always regarded IPRA as one of its main co-operation partners in the implementation of various activities meant to contribute to promoting international understanding among peoples, to the maintenance of peace, to observing human rights and advancing democratic processes in all societies.

Having this in mind, the present paper is not intended to give a full account of UNESCO's action in favour of international education at the level of the universities. The purpose is twofold:

- to survey, in a succinct manner, some of the more recent activities of UNESCO directed towards giving a new impetus to the involvement of higher education institutions – through their teaching and research programmes and through other specific actions – in the field of international education;
- to acquaint members of PEC/IPRA with a new initiative of UNESCO, namely the launching of an International Network of UNESCO Associated Universities, and to ask for their suggestions and recommendations as to how UNESCO could best proceed with this project while also seeking their direct involvement, as well as that of their institutions, in its implementation.

I. UNESCO's Constitutional Tasks in the Maintenance of Peace and the Contribution of the Universities

This autumn UNESCO will be 46 years old. The goals and objectives for which it was created, as laid down in Article I of its Constitution, namely "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture..." retain their full validity.

Also valid is the specific way in which UNESCO pursues this goal, namely by focusing on education, reflection and on research activities – as prerequisites to action – all geared towards "building the defences of peace in the minds of men", starting from the premise, written down in the Preamble of its Constitution that "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world; and that peace must... therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind".

The last session of the General Conference of UNESCO (Oct.-Nov. 1991) set as priorities of the Organization in this field the task to help create a *culture of peace*, based on *development*, on *environmental protection*, on *democracy* and on respect for *human rights*. It is very clear to UNESCO that it can achieve these far reaching goals only by forging broad alliances and by seeking the participation and the close co-operation of the international intellectual community. And in this search for alliances UNESCO looks upon the universities as its natural partners in action.

UNESCO's search for ever closer cooperation with higher education institutions stems also from the fact that their role in society has grown tremendously. Higher education is crucial to any development programme. It plays a key role in the generation, transfer and application of knowledge, in training professional, technical and managerial staff, in forging cultural identity and fostering democratic process. One of the major tasks of higher education at present is to help build up awareness of global, societal problems by designing and implementing adequate curricula and by promoting research in this area. It should provide students, particularly future researchers and those destined for positions of responsibility, with the necessary knowledge of problems related to peace, democracy and respect for human rights.

II. UNESCO Action for Promotion of International Education at Universities

UNESCO has taken a number of steps during the last few years in order to enhance the level of involvement of higher education institutions in teaching and research activities related to international education. A very selective list is given below in order to offer an image of the size of the action and of the

ways and means used for implementation.

a) The launching, during the 1988/89 biennium, of an experimental project involving six universities in various regions of the world for drawing up university teaching and research programme, centred on the analysis of world problems, their interdependence, and their implications for the future. Their purpose was to enable students to arrive at a better understanding of this new area of knowledge and acquainting certain researchers with the findings and methods of future-oriented research on world problems. The project also foresaw the incorporation of these programmes in the curricula of certain universities with a view to providing further training to particular groups of graduates from higher education.

b) Provisions in UNESCO's *Third Medium-Term Plan for the 1991 - 1995* period, to "support and promote the regional and international networks of institutions of higher education and research on peace and international understanding".

c) Organization, in September 1991, in Tunis, of an *Experts' Meeting on the Integration of International Education into Higher Education.*

d) *Project UNITWIN.* The acronym chosen for project UNITWIN (University Twinning) is intended to emphasize its key feature, that is increased solidarity – through twinning and other linking arrangements – among universities throughout the world. More specifically, UNITWIN is aimed at making full use of North-South inter-university co-operation and of international development aid in order to set in motion a process leading to strong, durable links between higher education and scientific institutions, including among those situated in developing countries, i.e. the South-South dimension of inter-university cooperation. Thus, UNITWIN emphasises networking aspects and intends to direct benefits of such twinning arrangements to universities of the South, as well as in Eastern and Central Europe given the fact that the restructuring of the entire social systems in these countries demands a large amount of cooperation, especially in the field of higher education.

e) *The UNESCO Chairs Scheme.* The system of UNESCO Chairs is aimed at promoting "the aims and ideals written down in the UNESCO constitution and to support the execution of UNESCO's programmes" and at fostering "scientific advancement through research in important disciplines, and to increase the availability of outstanding specialists both in developed and in developing countries". It is expected that such

chairs develop postgraduate programmes, become eventually the focal point of networks of institutions of higher education, and serve as Centres for advanced study and research. The response to these new initiatives of UNESCO is very positive: over 70 projects have already been launched, including some 40 UNESCO chairs. It is significant that 5 such chairs are devoted to studies and research in the field of human rights, peace and international relations.

f) Activities meant to promote the values of *academic freedom and university autonomy*. An experts' meeting was organized in Lund, in co-operation with the Wallenberg Institute for Human Rights, followed by a large International Conference on Academic Freedom and University Autonomy, held in Sinaia, Romania, in May 1992. The participants in the Conference adopted the Sinaia Declaration which *inter alia* urges UNESCO "to give the matter of academic freedom and university autonomy its utmost attention and to prepare an international instrument for the protection and promotion of these values".

g) *The elaboration of a Human Rights Manual for Higher Education*. The manual, now at an advanced stage in its elaboration, will be produced by the United Nations Centre for Human Rights (Geneva), in co-operation with UNESCO.

In addition to these activities, mention should also be made of UNESCO's co-operation with the United Nations University and with the University for Peace for the activities of which it has been assigned special responsibilities by the United Nations General Assembly. Their activities have been instrumental in promoting teaching and research on global issues at universities world-wide.

Moreover, UNESCO has made it its duty to associate itself with numerous other initiatives taken by various institutions and non-governmental organizations which are active in the area of peace and human rights education and research. The *UNESCO World Directory of Peace Research and Training Institutions*, in its 7th edition published in 1991, contains 418 entries, a large majority of which are university institutes, centres and departments. Similarly, the *World Directory of Human Rights Teaching and Research Institutes*, produced by UNESCO in 1992, contains 348 entries and once again most of them are based in universities. Of the over 580 non-governmental organizations with which UNESCO maintains co-operation relations (depending on their status of association with UNESCO: A, B or C), the academic and scientific ones represent a large majority. UNESCO has established recently a special framework for

cooperation with some 25 major NGOs of higher education, including the International Association of Universities (IAU), the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), the Association des universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française (AUPELF) – all having category A status with UNESCO, with the regional university association in Africa (AAU), Latin America (UDUAL), Arab countries (AAU) and Europe (CRE), etc. It is a Collective Consultation which reunites periodically to establish priorities in the work they agree to undertake jointly.

III. Integration of International Education in Higher Education

The experts' meeting organized by UNESCO on this theme in Tunis, in September 1991 raised a number of questions and reached certain conclusions which might be of interest to the members of PEC. They are presented briefly below.

(i) *The Need for a Redefinition of "International Education"*

The syntagm "international education" has been brought into use as a broad and flexible concept, within the framework of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. With the passage of time, the syntagm has tended to broaden its meaning by covering all educational endeavours aiming at better *international understanding*, at increasing awareness of and respect for the *ideas, cultures, customs and traditions* of others, at promoting *co-operation* among nations through closer *international relations* based on respect of *international law*, on justice and equity, at promoting *peace*, through studies on the causes of *conflict* and on *conflict resolution*, on the *peaceful settlement of disputes*, on *disarmament*, including its relationship to *development*, on *environmental* issues as they relate to the human condition of "being at peace" with nature, etc. As a corollary of all these concerns of international education, it also covers the basic issue of *human rights* and *freedoms*, and the respect for *the dignity of people* as individuals and as members of their communities, especially of the minority ones.

The participants in the Tunis meeting pointed out that there is a constant evolution in the importance attached to any of these concerns as components of international education under the impact of international developments.

For instance, while the issue of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, was regarded as the key component of peace education and research programmes in most universities in Europe and North America, this leading position is now occupied by concerns for human rights and the advancement of democracy in post totalitarian societies, through the emergence of the elements of pluralistic civil societies. Alongside this evolution *in time* of the meaning attributed to international education, there is also a clear difference in the importance attached to any of its individual components in *geographical terms*.

In clarifying the concept of "international education", as applied to higher education, the participants in the Tunis meeting thought it advisable to start from the following basic aspects:

(a) *goals and objectives*: to increase the awareness of students and to promote reflection and research on global issues (international understanding, co-operation, peace, disarmament, the advancement of democratic processes, defence and the promotion of human rights, the rights of women, minority rights, etc.);

(b) *institutional arrangements* (i.e. units created for that purpose or existing units used in dispensing international education programmes);

(c) *means* (curricular provisions, courses, teaching materials, research programmes, publications, the use of media, etc.).

Underlying (a), (b) and (c) above is the *international* opening of all programmes, the awareness of the fact that, in an increasingly interdependent world, most if not all major issues acquire world-wide dimensions and require global solutions. This led some participants to propose replacing the term "international education" by another one such as "global studies" which they considered more appropriate. Others pointed out, however, that "global studies" is an equally encompassing term which is understood differently in various contexts and within various disciplines and does not offer a solution to the problem raised during the discussions.

The terminological issue and the coverage of the term "international education" should be clarified within the framework of the UNESCO programme for the application of the 1974 Recommendation. Higher education institutions could in fact make an important contribution of their own in this respect.

(ii) *Ways to Integrate International Education into Higher Education*

The main issues concerning the integration of international education into higher education on the basis of existing experience were summed up at the

Tunis Meeting as follows:

- international education should be aimed at the whole of the student body of a higher education institution. Moreover, given the research function of higher education, it should preferably require a research component as well. It follows that international education should ideally permeate the teaching, training and research programmes of higher education institutions in their entirety. This, however, should be regarded as the ultimate goal. In order to set such a comprehensive process into motion, certain disciplines may take the lead;
- setting up certain structures (centres, institutes, programmes, etc) at the level of institutions or designating already existing units (departments, research institutes or faculties) for the task of initiating and promoting the integration of international education in the programmes of various departments and faculties and acting as coordinators, catalysts and leading forces of such actions, has proved very instrumental;
- international education programmes are aimed at disseminating knowledge about global issues and at inculcating positive attitudes towards the solution of major issues of the present day world, including the promotion and defence of human rights. Care should be taken to also build proper vocational and professional training elements into such programmes so as to enhance the chances of proper employment of those who pursue them and the adequate use of the knowledge they have acquired;
- it is important to assure the constant evaluation of such programmes based on proper evaluation frames and procedures;
- co-operation at the national, (sub)regional and international level plays a particularly important role through the exchange of experience and the sharing of scarce resources. UNESCO should encourage such cooperation primarily for the benefit of higher education institutions in the developing countries. The United Nations University, the University for Peace and the United Nations Center for Human Rights were also called upon to play their role in this respect. An equally important place in developing co-operation devolves upon the nongovernmental organizations of higher education which are linked to UNESCO, including the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) and its Peace Education Commission.

The Tunis meeting also made the following recommendations for concrete steps to be taken:

a) the production of a publication giving standardized descriptions of the projects discussed at the Tunis meeting, as well as of other programmes on which information will be collected. Such a brochure could serve to stimulate others to start their own projects and show the large variety of possibilities in this area. UNESCO was asked to facilitate the production of this publication. UNESCO has commissioned the preparation of the publication to the Foundation for International Studies, University of Malta;
b) the publication of a newsletter which could facilitate regular communication among those active in the field;
c) the creation of an informal working group which could, among other things, seek to maintain continuity, and try to secure sources of financial support for activities devoted to international education, particularly in the developing countries;
d) the development of teaching materials for various levels and purposes, paying attention to assuring their high quality, and making use of modern techniques of telecommunication;
e) the updating of the available data base of institutions engaged in international education.

In taking these steps, UNESCO was urged to avoid duplicating activities already being carried out, such as those of the Peace Education Commission of IPRA or of other NGOs such as the International Association of University Presidents which adopted the Talloires Declaration (1988) on the responsibilities of universities with regard to peace in the nuclear age.

IV. The Feasibility of Launching an International Network of UNESCO Associated Universities

The General Conference of UNESCO, at its 25th session in 1989, adopted a resolution proposed by Germany, to study the "feasibility of launching an international network of associated universities which could complement the efforts of the Associated Schools project in the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation".

The terms of reference for the feasibility study for this project prepared by Professor Bernd Hamm of the University of Trier, Germany, were amply discussed at the meeting of experts on International Education in Higher Education, held in Tunis in 1991.

The proposed international network of UNESCO Associated Universities

is meant to give a new qualitative impetus to the integration of international education into higher education. It should be aimed at increasing the commitment of higher education institutions to the intentions of the 1974 Recommendation by developing and implementing curricula devoted to "international education" as defined within the framework of that Recommendation. Such programmes could be offered to students in all disciplines and at all levels (undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate), as well as to the non-university public (through continuing education). Research on global issues (peace, conflict resolution, international relations, the UN System, disarmament, the "peace dividend" and its link to development, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rights of the minorities, etc.) should also be undertaken. The higher education institutions committed to such a programme of action could be awarded the status of UNESCO Associated Universities which would give them privileged access to UNESCO resources (publications, participation in the implementation of the UNESCO programme, joining of UNESCO supported networks under the provisions of the newly launched UNITWIN Project, eligibility for hosting UNESCO Chairs, etc.).

Professor Hamm included in the terms of reference the concept of *"studium integrale"* which, in his opinion, could be an important element of the educational programme proposed by a university aspiring to UNESCO associated status. "Studium integrale" includes elements of peace studies, global studies, future studies, human rights education, environmental studies, development issues and world studies in general. The perspective, though rooted in the social sciences, does not exclude elements of natural sciences. During a preparatory pilot phase, studium integrale studies could be offered on a non-credit basis, but in the long run they should become full-fledged ones with recognized academic status. Special degrees at the bachelor, masters and PhD levels, could also be considered.

With regard to the institutional aspects it is important to avoid setting up new structures while relying on existing ones: individual universities will acquire the "associated" status function of the programmes devoted to international education they adopt; certain institutions could serve as "focal points" at the subregional and regional levels to encourage cooperation among the associated universities; networks of UNESCO associated universities could be developed, by making use of all existing channels (UNITWIN Project and the UNESCO Chairs Scheme, cooperation with NGOs of higher education, cooperation with the United Nations University, the University for Peace, the United Nations Center for Human Rights, etc.).

Of the many ideas expressed with regard to the international network of UNESCO Associated Universities, and the feasibility study for its launching, the following were shared by the participants in the Tunis meeting:

a) given the specificity of higher education institutions, *vis à vis* the other levels of education, the experience gained by the Associated Schools Projects in launching the associated universities network should be used in a creative manner;
b) universities could acquire their associated status with UNESCO in at least three ways:
   - through specific programmes of international education, as proposed in the terms of reference for the feasibility study;
   - through their activities aimed at reinforcing interuniversity cooperation, in conjunction with UNESCO programmes such as UNITWIN and the UNESCO Chairs Scheme, or the various UNESCO supported (sub)regional and interregional networks of universities;
   - through the orientation of their specific teaching, training and research programmes so as to assure an active participation in the execution of the overall programme of UNESCO.

It is foreseen to complete the feasibility study before April 1993, so as to be presented to the 27th session of the General Conference of UNESCO scheduled to be held in the autumn of the same year. Suggestions and recommendations from IPRA and from its Peace Education Commission for this study and for the launching of the network itself would be highly appreciated.

A WITHIN AND BELOW PERSPECTIVE ON LIFELONG EDUCATION

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Education for democracy may by pictured as the building of a bridge between everyday life and formalized structures of authority. In this paper it is argued that education for democracy should be developed from within the everyday life of any culture. It is also argued that lifelong education should relate to local or regional formal authority – a below perspective – in order to reinforce the possibility of local or regional consciousness.

The uneven distribution of scientific and educational activity is a prevalent trait of the world today. In line with Bourdieu's analysis of national educational systems, Galtung sees the global scientific system dominated by certain 'generations and regions'. Galtung points to this global symbolic violence – to use the concept of Bourdieu – when he says:

> Unless creative scientific activity is very evenly distributed in space and time, images of what is "universal" will be dominated by certain generations and certain regions, and the search for "universals" will be a projection of that generation's or that region's image of itself on the dimensions of time and space ... The task of science is seen as that of reflecting the time and space invariant, not as that of helping create maximum time and space variation referred to as transcendence and pluralism respectively. (Galtung, 1977, p. 53.)

Domination of images of certain groups over what is regarded as valid knowledge is not only a global phenomenon, but a national one as well. An example might be the tradition in the sociology of education dating back to the 60s in the U.S. Massive research concluded that families rather than schools were responsible for the failure of children from poor and black families (Coleman, 1966). This conclusion assumes that the school is culturally neutral, giving equal emphasis to the culture of the poor and black children and to the culture of the rich and white children. This understanding led to policies directed towards raising cultural and intellectual capacities

of children from families that were not in a position to socialize their children to middle class virtues and culture. Such policies may be see as symbolic violence to non-middle class cultures.

Symbolic violence occurs when the images of one dominant group are utilized for the purposes of changing the images of another group. Thus, we are dealing with symbolic violence if one group is in the dominant position to prescribe educational content and form to others than themselves. According to the reproduction theory of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), this is the rule and not the exception.

A dominant status group would tend to view its own images as superior and sometimes even as universally valid in comparison to the images of other groups. This characteristic of groups in dominating positions may be one condition for domination.

Another essential condition for domination is the ability to represent the interests of a large number of people who actually do not belong to the dominating group. In spite of this lack of consensus, some researchers and educators purport to represent the interests of oppressed groups, often with the idea of strengthening their position in the change process. The question is whether it has been in the true interest of some of the groups in question to be represented by self-appointed spokespersons, who themselves might belong to a specific subgroup of the larger group they purport to represent.

The 'bag of virtues' approach in teaching what is right and wrong has to be done through indoctrination as opposed to politicization on the assumption that the virtues of specific groups are universally valid for all (cf. Haavelsrud, 1991). This approach is in consonance with right wing approaches to moral education (cf. Giroux, 1989, p. 42-53).

Against this background I find it challenging to investigate further how symbolic violence is the antithesis to cultural change. In this paper I shall attempt to discuss the priorities of peace education in relation to different groups. Differing qualities among all groups may be important in terms of their potential contribution towards peace.

Three determinants of social groups have been sex, race and social class. A major part of social science deals with the characteristics of and relationships between groups defined by these three determinants and combinations of them.

The argument is often that the function of peace education should be to increase the power of the oppressed via education and conscientization and thereby strengthen their historical role in changing structures of domination.

This pedagogical approach presupposes an analysis of oppression and violence.

Some peace education theory has emphasized the special need for emphasizing the 'pedagogy of the oppressed' or 'conscientization'. An assumption has been that oppressed and exploited groups have a special historical role to play in change towards peace. The concepts of structural and symbolic violence imply that specific social groups are seen as exploiters and oppressors and other social groups as exploited and oppressed.

This analysis has led to some difficulties in terms of which social groups are to be regarded as (the most) oppressed and exploited. Unfortunately, or fortunately, there is a lack of consensus as to who is exploiting and oppressing whom.

The Qualification of Sex or Race

It has not been unusual to emphasize discrepancies with reference to either race or sex as the primary distinction. In both cases the primary distinction chosen, race or sex, is used to attribute certain qualities and characteristics to one sex or one specific race and other qualities to the other sex or other races.

It is then assumed that the potential of each group for peace thought and action differ significantly between men and women or between races. The qualification or disqualification of ideas and actions of specific groups based on one of these distinctions may be seen as caused by past and/or present relationships between sexes or races.

These relationships might be characterized by oppressive and exploitative structures in which one sex or one race has been dominating the other sex or race. Over time the actor on top of the structure acquires the qualifications of a master and those at the bottom the qualifications of a servant. The exploiter has aquired the knowledge necessary for exploitation, the exploited has acquired the knowledge necessary for being exploited. Over generations two contrary cultures may develop: The culture of the exploiter and the culture of the exploited.

With reference to Table 1, the analyst giving primary importance to sex distinction would want to argue for the secondary importance of race and the pure race analyst would tend to do the same with the sex variable.

	MALE	FEMALE
RACE 1		
RACE 2		
RACE 3		
.		
.		
RACE N		

Table 1. The simple sex versus race perspective

The Qualification of Combinations of Sex and Race

A more complicated analysis is derived when race and sex are seen as equally important. This implies that previous experience in terms of domination and oppression is seen in light of a structure in which the qualification of being a man or a woman is coupled with the qualification of belonging to a certain race as well. This means that former and present unequal structures are seen in light of both race and sex. The race analyst would challenge the sex analyst by asking him or her to recognize the difference in being a black woman belonging to a group destined to serve the white race and being a white woman belonging to a group destined to share in the exploitation of black people. The sex analyst would challenge the race analyst by asking for the recognition of men's exploitation of women in all races.

The Qualification of Social Class

The third distinction, social class, can be brought into the analysis as shown in Table 2. I shall not here discuss various ways of dividing a population into social groups in terms of income levels, type of work, ownership, educational level etc. The number of categories can vary. In Table 2 three categories of social class denote high, middle and low socio-economic levels. A recognition of the influence of sex, race and social class in the attribution of certain cultural traits, beliefs and tastes further complicates the question of which potentials different groups have in the contribution towards desirable social change and peace.

	MALE			FEMALE		
	HIGH	MIDDLE	LOW	HIGH	MIDDLE	LOW
RACE 1						
RACE 2						
RACE 3						
.						
.						
RACE N						

Table 2. The race-sex-social class grid

Research in the social sciences often specializes according to groups studied. An example is the strong emphasis upon the sex distinction in some radical feminist research (Brock-Utne, 1989). The radical feminist approach, however, has inherited from the early days of feminist liberation struggle the problematic stance that the major contradiction and distinction in the world is related to sex. This stance becomes even more problematic if the assumption is made that it is the male sex that always oppresses the female sex.

Another example could be Paul Willis' book on *Learning to Labour* (1977). In his analysis, Willis attempts to show how working class boys in Birmingham have the penetrating capacity to develop their own sociological theory of their position in society in spite of limitations inherent in their culture which they themselves reproduce through a creative process. The study by Willis concentrates on white, young working class boys in England and how they view those who do not belong to this group like girls, blacks and middle class boys. It does not attempt to generalize its findings to all boys in all classes in all races.

Valuations

People belonging to another group than oneself defined in terms of race, sex and social class can be viewed in at least three ways: as superior, inferior or as equal to one's own group. The set of valuations about other groups in terms of these three distinctions may be influential in consolidation of social, economic and political structures. Such structures are characterized by interaction patterns that function to reinforce the valuations that helped produce

them. If a negative valuation of another group gains dominance, the interaction over time may lead to a structure of dominance of the group which may end in exploitation of that group.

Such structures may become 'permanent' in the sense that they seem unchangeable. But as the structure is based on human valuations, it is changeable because human valuations are changeable. Peace education is one force in the development of new valuations that may lead towards alternative structures in which old dominating valuations may be replaced.

We shall assume an infinite interchange between valuations and structures. This dialectical relationship between two components is enormously complex due to constant change within the two components over time. Continuity is defined in relation to change – change is defined in relation to continuity.

Domination and Opposition

If a political belief is in domination in a society, those sharing this belief are to varying degrees in the position to share the fruits of power. If a political belief is in opposition, those sharing it will have to bear the burden of being in opposition. To be in opposition may mean oppression and sometimes persecution.

A rejection may be dominant in terms of the number of people belonging to it. But it can also be intolerant of other religions. This can lead to rejection, oppression and persecution, especially in cases where religions and political power combine in order to dominate.

As long as inequalities between the two sexes, and among races and social classes, exist in a society, it is to be expected that interactions among the groups will be problematic because some groups are accumulating value to the detriment of other groups. But this does not mean that the differing qualifications of any one of the specific groups can be used to disqualify any group from contributing towards peace. Such disqualification could be disqualifying to those promoting such arguments.

Lifelong Education as Cultural Development from Within

Sex, race and social class were introduced in order to come to grips with a tentative typology of social groups in a society. The multitude of cultures

arising as a result of the typology may be viewed in terms of each culture's contribution towards peace.

If these three categories are known, it may be possible to outline important characteristics of a specific social group. If, for instance, to be a man in a specific social class of a specific race involves certain behaviours, tastes, styles and habits, the contours of a culture are becoming visible. The three categories of race, sex and social class would be seen as contributing towards the development of specific cultural traits.

But it is not the intention in this paper to reduce the importance of other important characteristics of human life going beyond the three variables, such as structural position along the centre-periphery dimension, national affiliation, age and educational levels. Some of these may correlate strongly with sex, race and social class.

In a recent evaluation project of educational programs in the North of Norway, we have found it useful to categorize views of the educational needs of specific social groups according to two dimensions. First, it seems important to distinguish between views held by the recipient group itself as opposed to views held by others external to the group. Second, a distinction is made between views held by central authorities (the above perspective) and those held by local authorities (the below perspective). Table 3 illustrates the four views of the educational problem in relation to specific groups.

	BELOW	ABOVE
WITHIN	1	2
OUTSIDE	3	4

Table 3. The four views of educational needs

Social groups in domination in a society may have a different picture of the educational need of a group than the group itself. The dominant educational ideals may be based on valuations of the group that are not shared by the group itself. These views are categoried as 'outside and above' in Table 3.

The selection of principles of educational initiatives is grounded on specific views of the educational problem in relation to specific social groups. Dominant views are often presented to specific groups as an absolute educational ideal. The views from above in the hierarchial structure and from the outside of the social group in question may override the views of the

recipient of education. The specific competencies of the local culture developed in the local context may not be valued. In fact, the idea of the superiority of the dominant groups in a society in educational decision-making may function to inhibit the creative educational potential of recipient social groups.

National dominance of educational thought may be filtered to the specific contexts of people via local authorities. Or the views of local authorities may differ from the dominant national views. The views of local educational decision-makers are represented in Table 3 in the cell entitled 'within and above'.

The views of the general public from other regions of the nation about the educational need of the recipient group may constitute a fourth alternative to the understanding of the educational need of the recipient social group. Common valuations in the general public of a specific group may have a determining impact upon the views of the authorities.

Social groups may have different views about their specific educational needs depending upon their specific local context and culture. This 'within and below' view of education is basic to this whole paper. The emphasis on this perspective is essential in the definition of what is right and wrong as well as in what is true and false. Giroux (1989) has critized the dominant concept of justice for leaving out the very substance of morality which encourages people to speak out of their own histories, traditions and personal experiences. He also criticizes this concept for its focus "on the fairness of the rules that govern existing society; absent from this view is any fundamental challenge to the moral and political viability of the society that legitimates such rules" (p. 55). In this way, the dominant concept of justice "fails to situate a theory of ethics in the notion of the good life that is attentive to the aspirations and hopes of specific subordinate and marginal groups who occupy particular historical and social contexts" (p. 58).

Conclusion

I have tried to show in this analysis that the way social science chooses to approach the problem of racism, sexism, discrimination and oppression in terms of relationships between groups in society will be a determining factor in the contribution of social science to education for peace. By this choice social science will reveal its assumptions concerning which biographical and

historical experiences it will consider important for the (dis)qualification of social groups.

In addition to the social scientific analysis of social groups, it is fundamental to make a choice of perspective. I have argued for an understanding based on all the perspectives in the four cells in Table 3. All of these perspectives may be, and most probably are, in need of adjustment, correction and change.

This approach implies a respect of the perspectives held by different groups. It does not imply acceptance because in spite of respect, the approach involves a constant questioning that could lead towards change in the direction of peace values. This approach does not imply that educational efforts take sides by ignoring non-peace characteristics of the group in question. It means that the below-and-within-picture is put side by side with alternative pictures from the other three cells in Table 3.

The cell showing the above and outside perspectives also includes the various pictures of peace that have been developed as ideals to strive towards for all social groups. Some of these pictures purport to represent universal values and ideals. A comparison between the values and ideals of a specific social group with the values and ideals of other social groups and internationally agreed-upon values and ideals might become the basis for a constant change in all picture groups.

It is a conclusion of this paper that

1) educational inititiatives should evolve from the assumption that the common interest in peace within the global village is inherent in the culture of all social groups
2) the potential contribution of each social group towards peace can only be developed from within the group itself and with the participation of the majority in that group in educational processes
3) the development of this potential needs the assistance of educational processes which are based in the 'within and below' perspective.

I: Stage I of this educational process involves some essential components:
a) It is important to start out with attention to and respect for the self-image of the group, i.e. the group's valuations of itself in terms of the basic characteristics of its culture and living conditions;
b) It is important to develop an awareness of the group's image of other

social groups, i.e. valuations of the basic characteristics of the culture and living conditions of other social groups;
c) It is important to encourage the fruitful dynamism between insights developed in point a) and b) for the purpose of *comparing* the 1) self-image with the images held by other social groups and 2) the analysis of the *relationships* between and among social groups;
d) It is important to utilize the discrepancies in group images and the images of relationships as the common ground for educational content in the second stage.

II: In stage II it is essential to be aware that images of self and others and images of the relationship between self and others are socially constructed and may be socially reconstructed in educational processes. There is an enormous gap between the image of the global village and the presence in that same village of racism, sexism, enemy images, prejudice, discrimination and violence.

If the within and below perspective is to become a constant force in the creation of common standards in the global village, any 'universalism' is to be seen as temporary and changeable rather than universal in the sense of eternal truth. The 'within and below' perspective assumes an inherent respect for the common valuations of self and others made by a social group.

This respect for the group's own knowledge needs to be shown throughout the whole educational process. Respect is carried out without imposition of the images of other social groups. The image of other social groups becomes important at the moment comparisons of images and group relationships are dealt with in the educational process.

Such comparisons will often point out discrepancies between images. A major educational problem will be to contribute towards a bridge between these discrepancies by the exchange of images across groups. This exchange or dialogue may have an impact in the reconstruction of images.

Such exchange might continue until new image reconstruction does not seem to be feasible any more and the process of change is blocked. At this moment the 'temporary universal standard' may be utilized for the process of taking on a new phase.

III: In Stage III 'universal principles' may be compared to the images held by various groups. Such comparisons might show that specific social groups may have images which are more in harmony with the 'present universalism'

than other social groups. The valuation of group images based on present 'universalism' may induce a new important process in which specific images would be difficult to defend. If so, a reconstruction of such images might be the result.

The comparison between specific images and 'universal' principles might also result in a reconstruction and improvement of the common standard which would become the 'new universalism'.

Pedagogy based on these principles implies participatory and experience-based learning and a close contact between lived culture and formal education. Everyday life (including problems and perceived conflicts) would be the base of education for democracy in the within and below perspective.

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A TEACHER TRAINING ON-SITE MODEL FOR PEACE EDUCATION

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Introduction

This paper focuses on analysis of the Associated Schools Project in Education for International Co-operation and Peace (ASP) as a teacher training inservice model for peace education. It suggests that the ASP reflects the current trends in teacher on-site professional development.

ASP was created in 1953 by UNESCO and has made great progress in a relatively short period of time (more than 2,200 educational institutions in more than 100 countries were participating in 1990). It is based on voluntary participation of teachers and their schools.

ASP can be conceived as a practical strategy for the professional development on-site of elementary and high school teachers in peace education.

The main target of ASP is to address educational objectives related to the goal of achieving a peaceful world. It has meant from its early beginning a methodological approach and a proposal for teaching-learning strategies focused not only on cognitive but also on attitudinal dimensions (Martin-Moreno Cerrillo, 1992).

ASP asks teachers to design and develop a Peace Education Project for their school and to clarify the role of each teacher in this project. As a result, it provides the occasion and conditions for teachers to increase their capacity to teach peace education and to plan professional development in this field. Its major value lies in the motivation and training level that ASP offers the teachers.

Educational Innovation and Teacher Training On-site Models

Advances in educational innovation have generated evidence about interaction between action research and teaching practice. The literature on educational change argues the utility of supporting change efforts by creating

"ad hoc" teams (Peters & Waterman, 1982). Research on educational innovation and change processes should be based on teachers, individually and in groups.

As Fullan (1986) emphasized, there is an important difference between understanding the cause of change and actually achieving it (p. 74). Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) argued that schools were examples of organized anarchies in which choices were problematic, technology was unclear, and participation by organizational members was fluid (p.1). The research for educational change emphasizes that innovation is facilitated by involvement of teachers in planning, flexible timelines for implementation and dissemination of resources. Teacher capacities will have to be developed on the job.

A current approach to teacher in-service training is to provide contexts in which to ensure interaction with professional peers in order to improve the quality in schooling. In general:

- it provides a formal forum for debates and a vehicle for staff development
- it focuses on the school as a whole (research has demonstrated that programs that actually make a difference are, basically, those that are conducted at the teacher's school)
- the major task involved in training in-service teachers is to get them motivated
- approaches to educational change suggest the need for flexibility (facilitation rather than intervention mobilizes strengths and increases the capacities of individuals)
- tolerance for the viewpoints of others is needed (an exchange between equals)
- the improvement is a result of the cumulative effects of the cycle: reflexion-expectations (a source of new ideas and solutions to problems).

Action Points for Staff Development

ASP provides basically three action points to assist teachers in peace education.

(1) Teachers are invited to design and implement a Peace Education

Project for their school; that gives all concerned the opportunity to plan a better and more fruitful peace education for pupils. Project participants transfer new techniques to the classroom practice (teachers have to review their project at least once a year).

(2) ASP disseminates information to make recommendations as to possible developments in the curriculum (documentation related to the curriculum and methodology on peace education is mailed to the participant schools; copies of journals and texts provide teacher guidance).

(3) Regular meetings of associated schools take place; it is a technique to ensure communication between them by: sharing professional information, discussing the curriculum problems, describing the methodology being used, presenting ideas that some teachers use in their classes, acquiring information about resources, etc. This is an effort of cooperation that provides ongoing training for the teachers involved (ideas from different teachers who have applied them successfully).

Some Difficulties

The main sources of problems can be summarised in the following ways:

- sometimes, the project is concentrated on specific innovations in peace education rather than on global improvement of the curriculum in this field
- staff forget from time to time that the essence of a successful program of peace education is adaptability (a specific method can work well in one situation but not in another)
- the viewpoints of the teachers: different views may arise about a variety of issues among the members of the teaching staff of a school (schools need to reconcile different viewpoints of principle and practice)
- the risk of routine (teachers have to review their work regularly; appraisal is an important task to be done adequately)
- the varied backgrounds and experience of the participants make it difficult to decide upon the level of training.

Conclusions

The main conclusions emerging from the above analysis are:

- o ASP offers teachers opportunities to improve their teaching skills in peace education.
- o it is a vehicle of in-service teacher training in peace education.
- o it can serve the role of educational change agent at school.

In summary, ASP is a subtle and accumulative process, guided by the teachers themselves, where new educational practices for peace education emerge.

Note: This paper was prepared for the IPRA Conference but not presented in Kyoto, since the author was not able to attend.

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RAISING CHILDREN TOWARDS NONVIOLENCE

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The Root of Violence

To be clear about where violence is present in education, it is useful first to understand what is violence in general. The root of violence is to be found in the way we think and live with differences. We usually associate value judgements with differences. In this way an unbalanced relationship is created: a Major (M) and a minor (m) emerge.

This process happens on different levels. There are the differences in characteristics, like races, genders, degrees, aptitudes: The one (e.g. one race) will be considered as more valuable than the other one. During discussions and conflicts there are different points of view. We usually try to get our own point of view in the Major position by persuasion that we are right and the other one is wrong.

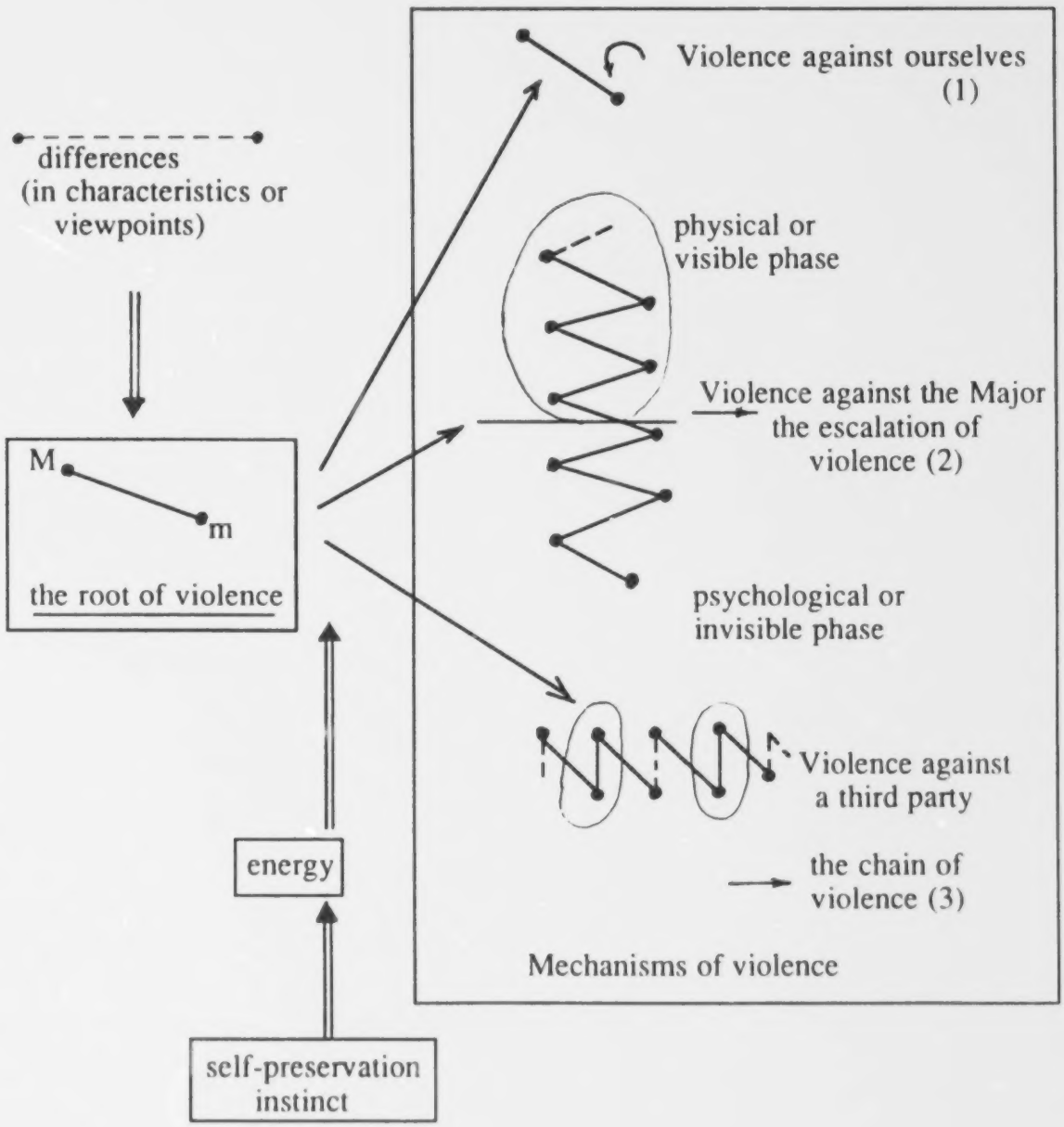
But nobody feels good in the m-position: people feel belittled, small, put down, minimized, run down, oppressed, subdued, shouted down. Not to feel good in the m-position is a very normal fact. It comes from our self-preservation instinct. This instinct, like all instincts, produces energy. When we are in the m-position, this energy will usually be turned against someone, against one of the three following people (see figure 1):

1) against ourselves: we bottle the energy up. We subject ourselves to violence.
2) against the Major: we reverse the roles, we put ourselves in the Major-position and the other one in the minor-position. This produces the escalation of violence. In the escalation we can distinguish two phases: the invisible psychological phase and the visible physical one.
3) against a third party: we work off our feelings on someone else, we put ourselves in the M-position towards a third party, who thus will land in the m-position. The chain of violence is built up in this way.

There we have the three mechanisms of violence, which can be found from the personal to the societal level. And the root of violence is the Major-minor model. The root and the three mechanisms of violence constitute together the content of violence. However most of the time only the visible

violence is recognized as violence (see the circled parts in figure 1).

Figure 1. Violence in diagrams



Violence in Education: Through Three Different Roads

In education the M-m model (or root of violence) and its consequences (the mechanisms of violence) are present in three different areas:
- The social intercourse between adults
- The social intercourse between adult and child
- The attitude of an adult towards relationships among children

These three areas are the three roads through which adults offer a model of social intercourse to children. And it's mostly the M-m model they offer.

1) The social intercourse between adults

This is how parents, adult friends, teachers, heroes from books, TV-series or films behave with one another or talk about one another. A parent talking in a humiliating way about a teacher, parents pushing one another down when discussing, a film presenting people as "good" and "bad": all these situations are teaching to children the M-m model, the root of violence.

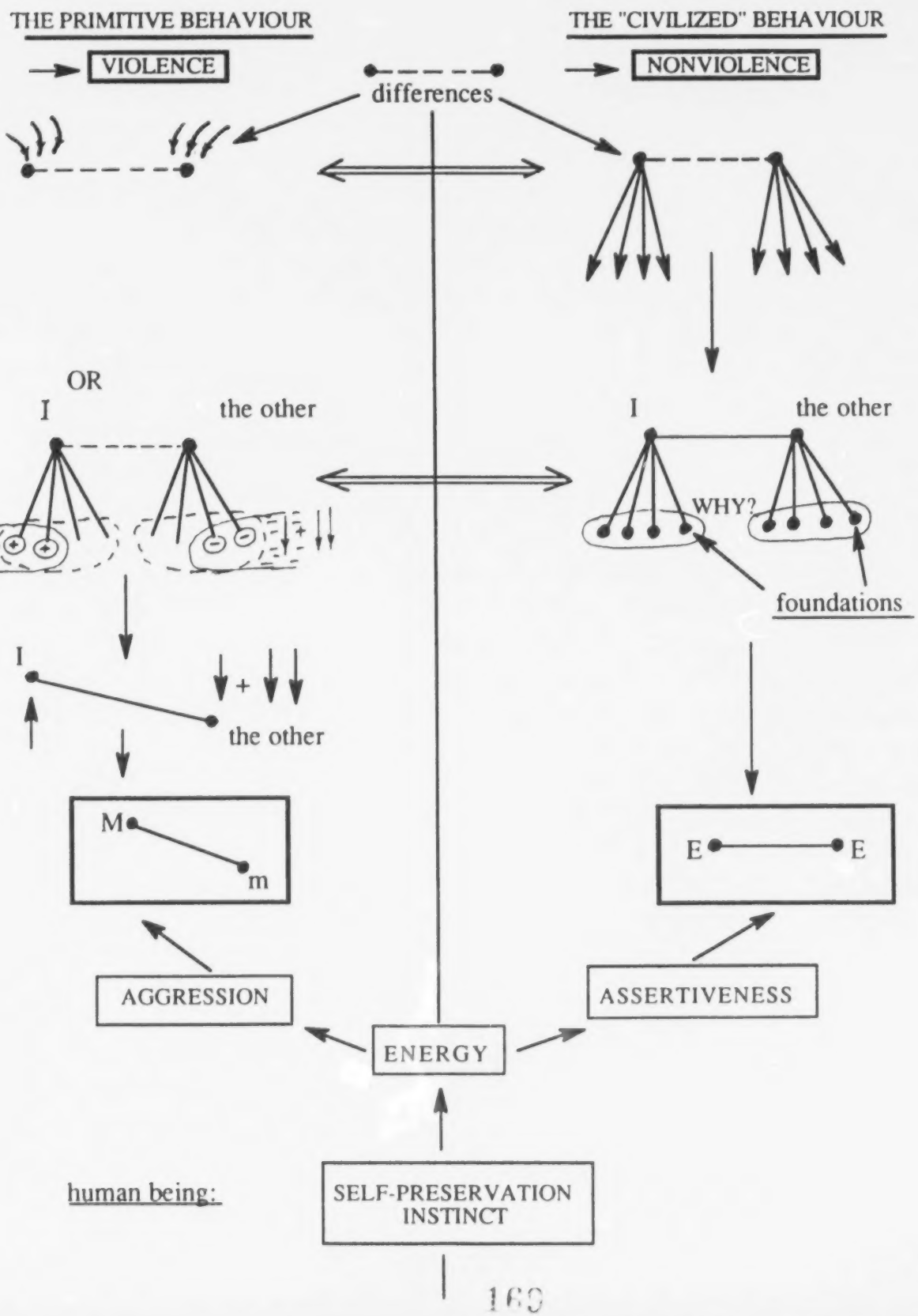
2) The social intercourse between adult and child

There are of course differences between adults and children: adults are taller, older, did study for more years, do have more years of experience (this doesn't mean they necessarily do have more experience!), adults can eat alone and small children can't, adults did learn to speak more years ago (again this doesn't mean they can do it better and wiser!). But it's not because there are differences between adults and children that this should automatically mean that the opinion, the activity (work/game), the taste, the wishes, the values, the needs, the feelings, the words, the will, the rights of an adult should be more valuable, more important, more right than those of a child. Nevertheless this is how adults most of the time think and behave with children. Threatening, punishing, rewarding a child, making him or her obey are the ways to give concrete form to it.

3) The attitude of an adult towards relationships among children

When there is a conflict between children, adults usually look for the "guilty" one, the "bad" one, the one who started it. And this one often will be punished. This child is thus put in the m-position vis-à-vis the other one.

Figure 2. The M-m model and the E-model confronted



What is Nonviolence?

Nonviolence means: when there are differences (in characteristics, or in points of view), not to put them in the M-m model but in the model of Equivalence, the E-model (see figure 2). We have to replace the M-m model (in the left column) by the E-model (in the right column).

To put ourselves in the M-position, we usually give arguments. These can be schematically situated in three steps (from soft to moderate to hard):
1) the positive aspects of our own viewpoint (to lift our own viewpoint: ↑);
2) the negative aspects of the viewpoint of the other party (to push down the viewpoint of the other party: ↓);
3) the negative aspects of the other party (to push down even harder the viewpoint of the other: ↓↓).

This a superficial way to go on with conflicts. It's just as if both parties were each feeding a fire and throwing each on their fire all they can find to make their own fire bigger, higher: first, things which may be burned (some paper or piece of wood which may be thrown away), secondly, useful things which shouldn't be burned (a table or a chair), and finally precious things like an old musical instrument or a diary.

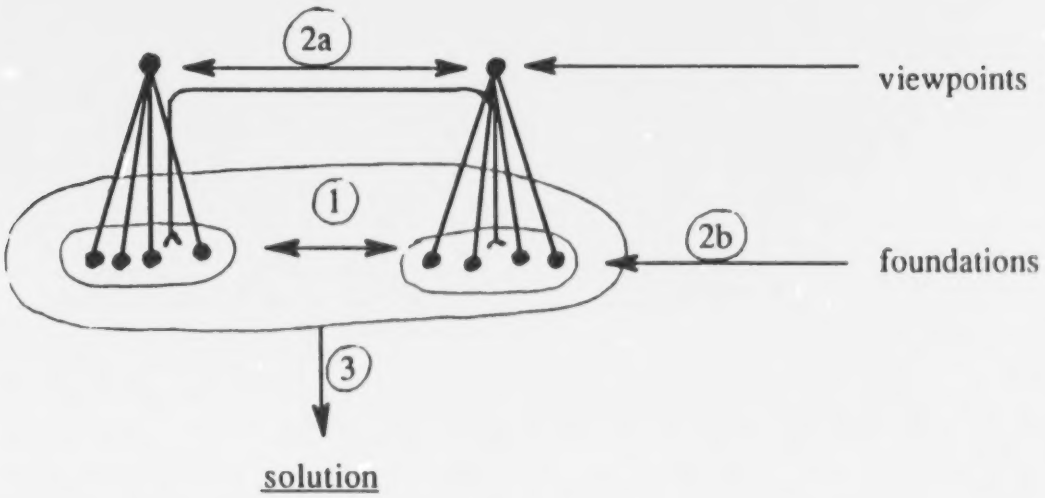
To go to the E-system, we should not feed the conflict from the top, but from below. We have to analyze which are the foundations (↔arguments!), these are the "why's", of the different viewponts. We have to look for all kinds of foundations: emotional and rational elements, needs, objectives, interests. And they don't have to be judged in any way, but have just to be put besides one another, on the same level. If they would not be on the same level, how could the viewpoints – supported by them – be on the same level; this means: be equivalent?!

This is the first part of the nonviolent conflict management: settling side by side, on the same level, the two packets of foundations of the two different viewpoints (see figure 3).

The second part of the conflict management is communication, to bring the two packets together. Communication is much larger than just talking: it is also listening, silence, body-language, association of acts and words, actions... And communication does not necessarily happen only after the first part. Usually both are overlapping.

When all foundations are brought together, on the same level, usually it is good to take some time – and so to have some patience – before going over to the third part. This is to have communication happen in a deep way.

Figure 3. Nonviolent conflict management: Three parts



1 = putting the two packets of foundations in equivalence with one another
2 = communication, to bring the two packets together
-Break-
3 = creation of a solution

The third part is then the creation of a solution on the basis of the resulting big packet. Solutions are 100% or absolutely nonviolent if they respond to all foundations, but they can also be 95%, 90%... These solutions are also nonviolent solutions.

Nonviolence in Education

Nonviolence in education doesn't mean reversing the roles: letting the child do all he or she wants! The adult would then subject him- or herself to violence, would put him- or herself in the m-position. Nonviolence in the relationship adult-child is building a relationship where neither the adult nor the child is Major or minor: it should be a relationship of Equivalence.

In a conflict between an adult and a child this will happen by analyzing what are the foundations, the "Why's" of both viewpoints, both of the adult and of the child. And both packets of foundations will have to be considered

as equivalent. The solution will then have to grow out of the gathering of the two packets.

To raise children towards nonviolence it will be important that adults close to them offer, as much as possible, not the M-m model, but the E-model, and this through the three different roads: the social intercourse between adults, the social intercourse between adult and child, and the attitude of the adult towards relationships among children. Values which are strongly present in this E-system and which will be developed by it are: understanding, insight, openness, dialogue, tolerance, respect of oneself and the other, confidence in oneself and the other, inner strength, a right use of power (without abusing it), developing the conscience, responsibility. These are – of course – the values needed to build a peaceful world.

It Just Has to Change...

Switching over to nonviolent education, the E-system, doesn't seem very easy in the beginning. It first means a re-education of ourselves. And it also is a long-term process, which will have to be built up progressively. And when we face difficulties we will often wonder if it really is possible to realize.

But when we establish how much violence there is in our world, and when we realize the undeniable link there is between violence in society and our usual ways of educating children, then we shall have to wonder "how it works" instead of "if it works". Because then we just start from the premise that it has to change.

Notice: Dr Pat Patfoort is a Belgian anthropologist, biologist and mother of two children. She has been working for 25 years on nonviolence, particularly in the area of education. She has been giving workshops and lectures in this field for the past 12 years on a full-time basis, working with parents, teachers, students, children, elderly people, in Belgium and in other countries of Europe and in the US. The theory presented in this paper grew out of her workshops and her experience in this field, particularly with her own children. You can find more about this in her last book "Bouwen aan Geweldloosheid" (in Dutch) or in the English translation "Building Nonviolence" (being published soon).

THE WORLD BANK AS A DEVELOPMENT EDUCATOR: TOWARDS WHICH PARADIGM? - SOME EXPLORATORY REFLECTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

In a holistic framework of educating for peace, the dimension of development education deserves undoubted recognition for its pioneering efforts beginning in the 60s to demystify dominant conceptions of "Third World development" (Pradervand, 1982; Burns, 1980). As industralized North governments, international bilateral/multilateral aid agencies, "development" experts in social science and scientific-technological fields, and South governments collaborated vigorously in projects/programs for growth and "development", their theory and practice began to be analyzed and challenged by a small but growing community of critical thinkers, practitioners and activists. Even as we enter the last decade of the century, this debate continues to be waged between on the one hand, what can be referred to as the modernization paradigm, and on the other hand, the critical alternative paradigm which will be identified in this paper by the acronym, PEACE (participation, equity, appropriate, conscientization, ecological). As elaborated later, these alternative paradigms on Third World and global development provide quite different assumptions, values and analyses of the causes of underdevelopment, and strategies for development.

Among those who popularized the concept of development education, there emerged a consensus regarding the limitations and failure of the dominant modernization paradigm, despite ostensible goals of promoting human welfare and national development, and the billions of dollars invested in various projects and programs, often through foreign aid mechanisms. Modernization has not only resolved major problems of underdevelopment but even produced further hardships for many Third World peoples, and widened the gaps between rich and poor nations. Therefore, unlike the field of "development studies", which tend to be based on the modernization para-

digm and supply information, knowledge and analyses useful for modernization policies, development education can be conceptualized as:

education which fosters critical understanding of the root causes of world hunger, poverty and underdevelopment, and simultaneously catalyzes personal and social action which seeks to build human international relationships and structures capable of at least meeting the basic economic, social, political and cultural needs of all human beings, with dignity, equity, and freedom from exploitation and repression.

Through the 70s and 80s, theorizing and above all practice in such development education has established an active tradition in affluent North contexts, especially in Western Europe, Australia/New Zealand, and North America, and in some South societies. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with international aid and development issues have been particularly prominent in development education at the community and public levels, while educational institutitions have increasingly infused, or are being encouraged to infuse development education principles and content into their formal and nonformal curriculum. The influence of development educators has also been felt in the global peace research and peace education networks, where their theoretical and empirical contributions help to build up a holistic conception of peace education which also brings in the interrelated perspectives of disarmament, human rights, environmental care, cultural solidarity, and personal peace (Hicks, 1988; Reardon, 1988; Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1990).

It did not take long, however, before governments and other official agencies felt a need to be involved in development education themselves. For example, the bilateral aid agencies of such North countries like Australia (AIDAB), Canada (CIDA) and Sweden (SIDA) have either implemented development education activities themselves or/and evolved working ties with NGOs (e.g. via funding NGO projects in development education). But the aid organization which is the focus of this exploratory study is the well-known and globally influential multilateral agency, the World Bank. Beginning in the early 80s, the World Bank published a series of multimedia learning kits designed to help secondary school teachers teach about development issues through in-depth case-studies. Collectively entitled "Toward a Better World", the kits are advertised in the World Bank's catalogue of educational materials as giving "students a realistic look at economic development, helps them master abstract concepts, and encourages active learning". The Bank's development education program also includes pub-

lication of other educational resources and curriculum material, such as a poster kit series, the Development Data Book, the World Development Report, and videocassettes on casestudies of development issues, projects or programs. Consultants or staff of the program conduct seminars or workshops for teachers and students on the use and integration of such learning resources into school curricula, especially in North American contexts.

That the World Bank, which is increasingly recognized as a major economic, social, political and even cultural actor in Third World development, has a development education program should be of much interest to those of us in this field, and to peace education as a whole. While the World Bank has to date advocated macro and micro development policies which fall predominantly within the modernization paradigm, it is still necessary to concretely analyze the Bank's development education activities in their own right, rather than assume that the program automatically follows the dominant tendency in the agency's vision, policies and practices. This paper, however, does not claim to be a comprehensive and systematic study of the World Bank's development education program in all its various facets. Our report here represents the first phase of a work-in-progress, whereby attention is focused on the "Toward a Better World" learning kit series. Thus any conclusions drawn cannot be said to be a holistic assessment of the World Bank's efforts in development education, and some tentative comparative comments on a number of other World Bank curriculum resources may suggest possible qualifications or alternative views to those conclusions. It is for this reason too that the sub-title of the paper is phrased as an query, "towards which paradigm". Despite these qualifications, however, we hope that our evaluation of the "Toward a Better World" learning kit series will yield findings that reflect on the validity and utility of this curriculum resource to development education. We have also chosen to begin with this series because in our view, its elaborate and sophisticated marketing format – which includes in each kit 36 copies of the student book, 36 copies of a student pamphlet giving an overview of the country's economy, a sound filmstrip (or a videocassette in Kit 1) and a teaching guide giving comprehensive lesson plans, exercises, supplementary activities, reproducible worksheets, tests – means that teachers and schools are likely to find their use very attractive and facilitative. The materials therefore will have more opportunity of becoming integrated into school curricula compared to perhaps, kits produced by poorly resourced NGOs that are less classroom-friendly.

Three further methodological caveats are also important. At the

beginning of the books in the learning kits, there is usually a statement by the World Bank that the views expressed are those of the author, and should not be attributed to the World Bank, to its affiliated organizations, or to any individual acting on its behalf. Bearing this in mind, our analysis of each kit will therefore cite the author or authors rather than the World Bank. Not-with-standing this caveat, we feel, however, that even if the views and interpretations in the learning materials can be directly attributable only to the author(s), the reality that the World Bank considers those views and interpretations worthy of publication and distribution under World Bank auspices, imply already a positive orientation of the Bank to those materials. Some other author(s) may well have written quite different kinds of materials presenting alternative or counter-views to those presented in the learning kit series. In a sociological and political sense, the choice of author(s) by the World Bank to produce the kits are decisions which embody values and assumptions about paradigms of development. Thus, as development educators would say, following Paulo Freire, no education is ever value-free, and no amount of author disclaimers on the part of the World Bank can give it a "neutral" status via-a-vis the materials published in its name.

A second caveat concerns the section within the World Bank that is coordinating the Development Education Program. The findings of this paper do not report on the views, interpetations, and professional practice of the program staff, including the current Development Education Program officer, Ms. Katherine Sheram. Hopefully, future phases of this work-in-progress will be able to look at the program per se, but for this exploratory effort, it was deemed useful enough to peer in-depth into what appears to be a substantive component of the development education resources offered by the World Bank. In the words of one social studies supervisor in Maryland (USA),

"the TOWARD A BETTER WORLD kits are some of the best global studies curriculum available today. They provide students with an excellent database to clarify attitudes and opinons, identify options, and make decisions. The Developing World is an excellent introduction to development and the case studies help show how the development process affects the lives of people at the grassroots level" (Catalog of Educational Materials, 1992, The World Bank: 7).

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that the learning kits series are presently undergoing a revision process. For example, the second edition of the stu-

dent's book appeared in 1991, ten years after its first publication. The accompanying teaching guide of this kit is being revised for release in the near future. Whether or not this revision process will produce significantly different kits in terms of paradigmatic orientation remains to be seen, assuming of course that all five kits will have a second edition. But for the purpose of this paper, it is still not a waste of effort to look closely at the kits even in their first edition form, since that edition has been in circulation throughout the 80s and mostly continue to be in the early 90s.

THE TOWARD A BETTER WORLD LEARNING KIT SERIES: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

It is useful to set the context by providing a brief description of the five kits in the Toward a Better World series. In this regard, the latest World Bank's Catalog of Educational Materials 1992, gives lucid summaries worth quoting verbatim:

KIT 1 The Developing World

This newly revised and updated edition of The Developing World is an excellent overall introduction to economic development. Students learn the characteristics of developing and industrial countries, what kinds of activities affect people's lives, what development efforts have accomplished to date, and much more.

KIT 2 The Rajasthan Canal Project

Students follow the story of a family living in the desert of northwestern India and learn how their lives change when the canal system serving their land is improved. This kit illustrates the vital importance of agriculture and water to a society, its culture, and its economy.

KIT 3 Small-Scale Industries in Kenya

This is the story of George Kisulu, a young carpenter who is determined to start his own furniture business, of the problems he faces, and of the people who help him. This case study shows the difficulties countries must overcome when trying to develop their economies and improve living conditions.

KIT 4 Tackling Poverty in Rural Mexico
Farmers in a poor village decide to work with the government to build their own irrigation system and learn improved farming methods. When their crop yields increase, they spread the word to other farmers. The story demonstrates how individuals working together can raise their living standards and help a country's economy grow.

KIT 5 Improving Indonesia's Cities
Students follow the fortunes of two families living in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. One family strives to improve its living conditions by participating in a slum improvement program, the other by taking part in a low-income project. The materials in this kit focus on the effects of rapid urbanization on a country's culture, economy, and resources.

It is clear therefore that the four case-studies do focus on the lives and conditions of the poorer sectors of the respective Third World countries. It should also be noted that the projects portrayed have been partly financed by the World Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association. From a critical perspective on development education, the crucial questions will be the degree to which the kits promote understanding of the root causes of the poverty and lack of development in those situations protrayed, and the nature of the proposed development solutions. Most importantly, the first kit on "The Developing World", because of its role in the series as an introductory conceptual overview, should yield key yardsticks for assessing the underlying paradigm of development shaping the series. However, before we begin our critical content analysis of this learning kit series, it will also be useful to provide an analytical comparison between the two major paradigms on underdevelopment and development referred to at the beginning of this paper, namely the modernization and PEACE paradigms. This contrast will illustrate conceptual parameters employed in our analysis of the kits.

PARADIGMS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The post-war era of decolonization and growth in foreign aid establishments helped to spawn the field of theorizing and research broadly called development studies (Manning, 1985). While economics-related faculties are most

active, other social science disciplines have also played siginificant roles (e.g. sociology, politics, psychology). The mainstream of development studies has been occupied by, as earlier mentioned, the modernization paradigm, which commands the allegiance of significant numbers of scholars and researchers in well-known North universities (Hoogvelt, 1976, pp. 20-62; Little, 1982; Weiner, 1966). Most importantly, this paradigm invariably guides the development policies and plans of official and some private aid agencies and the bulk of South governments.

Essentially, modernization analysis attributes lack of development to internal deficiencies of the South (e.g. lack of capital, technology, infrastructure, and education; influence of traditional values). Concurrently, the North advanced industrialized states help to overcome these defects by mutually beneficial relationships of trade, investment, aid, technology-transfer, and role-modelling. Much emphasis is placed on the imperative of expanding economic growth, whose benefits will then "trickle down" to the masses. During the 70s, however, some consideration was given to issues of "equity", although much of this remained rhetorical, even in agencies like the World Bank where these ideas circulated (Chenery, 1974; Adler, 1977). Indeed, in the World Bank of the "Reaganite" 80s, the virtues of unbridled growth through free-market, export-oriented and investment policies have been loudly extolled.

Since the sixties, however, a counter-current has emerged to challenge modernization theory and practice. Advocated by a growing group of analysts, and many people's organizations in both North and South (notably those in aid and development concerns), this alternative paradigm on development may be usefully denoted by the acronym PEACE (Toh, 1987). ***"P"*** stands for ***participation***, which emphasizes the vital need for the poor to be actively involved in planning, implementing and controlling development schemes, so that their knowledge is constructively integrated into equitable social change which they fully understand and desire (S.I.D., 1981; Elkins, 1992, pp. 88-138). It rejects the elitist top-down strategy so often imposed by politicians, bureaucrats and technocrats upon perceived "ignorant" peoples. ***"E"*** refers to ***equity*** which growth-first modernization has seriously neglected or even worsened. How will this or that development program or project distribute resources and benefits equitably, rather than be monopolized by minority elites through legal and illegal means? (George, 1976; Hartmann & Boyce, 1982; Bello, Kinley & Elinson, 1982). Equity is also about overcoming the structural violence embodied in unjust North-

South relationships in the global order, such a unequal trade terms, the massive exploitative power of transnational corporations, and the crippling debt burden (Falk, Kim & Mendlovitz, 1982; George, 1987; Trainer, 1985).

"A" highlights the importance of applying ***appropriate*** values, methods and technology in the development process (Galtung, 1980; Payer, 1983; Chambers, 1983). All too often, such transfers of technology and methodologies have been irrelevant to the basic needs of the poor majorities, though of course they have suited the modernization wants or goals of South elites and external agencies (e.g. tied aid; investment priorities of transnationals). ***"C"*** stands for *conscientization*, whereby the poor develop a critical consciousness to transcend their sense of powerlessness, passivity, and fatalism, and begin to challenge the power-structures of injustices and undemocratic people-state relationships (Freire, 1985).

Finally, but not least, ***"E"*** calls urgent attention to ***environmentalism*** and its key insight that humanity needs to live in harmony with our environment, otherwise we and planet Earth will not survive. While the environmental crisis has not spared the North (e.g. pollution, acid rain, global warming), its negative effects are even more drastic in the South, where profit-maximizing elites and external agencies are largely unregulated in ecological abuse which harm directly or indirectly the livelihoods and health of ordinary citizens (e.g. rainforest destruction; toxic contamination of food resources; displacement by dams and other infrastructures of modernization; overexploitation of fragile ecologies; global dumping of toxic wastes) (Redclift, 1984; Porritt, 1991). Hence, worldwide, grassroots movements for environmental care are showing the alternative ways in which planet-people relationships can be more peaceful and sustainable (Timberlake, 1987; Elkin, 1992, p. 139 ff).

Overall then, the PEACE paradigm sees prevailing assumptions, values and strategies of the modernization paradigm more as mal-development based on distorted priorities that are weighted in favour of North and South elites, and yield tragic consequences for the marginalized and poor. Table 1 provides a more detailed contrast between the two paradigms in terms of specific issues and sectors of development. As earlier mentioned, the movement of development education emerged through a critique of modernization perspectives and a preferential option for explanations and resolution strategies situated within a PEACE paradigm. This does not mean, however, that pedagogically, development education only presents and engages in de facto indoctrination of the latter's viewpoints and interpretations. Rather,

critical consciousness-formation requires that learners are simultaneously exposed to the contrasting paradigms. Through a process of dialogue and experiential learning, the development educator tries to evoke their learners' commonsense values of justice and compassion so that they can self-reliantly evaluate the validity of particular ideas, analysis, and practices embodied in the alternative paradigms. In our analysis of the Toward a Better World kits, we will also be looking out for the presence of these pedagogical principles of critical thinking, dialogue and conscientization.

Table 1. PARADIGMS OF THIRD WORLD UNDERDEVELOPMENT

	MODERNIZATION PARADIGM	P.E.A.C.E. PARADIGM
1.	Unilinear model of "development." Goal of advanced industrialized high consumption societies.	Historically specific development. Alternative goals of human "basic needs" development.
2.	Internal obstacles to development. Lack of modern infrastructure, capital, technology, entrepreneurs values, education, economic and political institutions.	Internal power structures determinant in poverty. Entrenched political, economic and social inqualities perpetuate hunger, oppression.
3.	Concepts of traditionalism and modernity, vicious circles and stages of growth.	Concepts of structural violence and dependency.
4.	Advanced industrialized nations beneficial to development via trade, investments and aid. Colonialism uprooted traditional barriers.	Historical/contemporary "development of underdevelopment". External agencies and local elites benefit disproportionately from trade, aid and investments.
5.	Trickle down theory; growth emphasized over equity. In the 70s "basic needs" and "growth with equity" campaign.	Growth largely fails to reach poor. Fundamental structural changes needed towards greater social political-economic equality. Piecemeal reforms avoid roots of poverty and inequalities.
6.	Advanced technology essential to growth. Efficiency criteria and experts decide development processes. Poor passive recipients of ideas.	Need more appropriate technology. Participation and local knowledge of masses essential. Poor need conscientization.
7.	Environment to be fully exploited.	Environmental needs must harmonize with development.
8.	Agriculture modernized and commercialized. Cash-crop export-orientation. Green Revolution and agri-business promote development. Evolutionary land reform.	Over-capital intensive agriculture inappropriate. Benefits TNCs and local elities Local food production crucial. Green Revolution and agri-business widen inequalities. Radical land reform.
9.	Women's productive role deemphasized and under-rewarded.	Women's productive role emphasised and equalised.

10. Overpopulation major cause of underdevelopment. Apolitical population control campaign.	Poverty and "overpopulation" related. Population control should be accompanied by equitable political-economic changes.
11. Famine caused by drought or other natural causes.	Famines have political-economic bases. Inappropriate modernization causes environmental bankruptcy.
12. TNC useful, transfers capital technology, expertise. Gives markets, employment. Can be regulated by code of conduct.	TNC siphons more wealth out, overcapital intensive technology, limited jobs. Exploits cheap labour and resources. Unethical conduct difficult to control.
13. New Industrializing Countries exemplary models. Export-oriented industrialization useful.	NICs limited applicability. Export-oriented industrialization does not benefit poor majorities.
14. New international division of labour useful. Mutual interests served.	New International Economic Order essential.
15. Foreign aid beneficial for modern inputs. Large-scale infrastructure, export-oriented agriculture/industry, and private enterprise favoured.	Foreign aid reinforces/widens inequalities. Benefits North exports. Neglects basic agriculture, adds to urban bias, benefits elites disproportionately.
16. World Bank, IMF and multilateral agencies neutral and beneficial. Recognize plight of poor.	World Bank and related agencies favour North and modernization principles. Leverage exercised. "Basic needs" rhetoric.
17. Military aid essential for political "stability" and growth.	Political "stability" rests on repression. Military aid maintains elites' power, protects North's interests.
18. Voluntary aid useful, should be apolitical. status Emotional appeals for public support necessary. Child sponsorship schemes useful.	Political neutrality supports unequal quo. Conscientization essential. Appeals based on critical development-education. Avoid pity syndrome. Child sponsorship paternalistic, perpetuates "hand-out" dependency.
19. Modern formal education helps development and growth. Overseas training useful, gives development expertise. Non-formal education for poor.	Modern formal education reinforces diploma disease, widens inequalities, irrelevant to poor. Overseas training reinforces academic elitism, modernization ideology. Non-formal education for all, otherwise perpetuate inequalities.
20. Advanced industrialized lifestyle can be universalized. South societies can catch up.	Advanced consumerism not feasible for earth's resources. North over-developed, leading to environmental destruction.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE "TOWARD A BETTER WORLD" KITS

Kit 1: The Developing World

(a) The Student Book

The following statement found in small print on the copyright page of the revised (second) edition of the student book (hereafter referred to as SB), is worth citing as a preliminary indication of the orientation of this curriculum kit:

"There are many diverse views about economic development. In recognition of this diversity, the World Bank does not subscribe to any one view. But there is what might be called a mainstream view shared by many professionals working on development issues. The authors of this book have sought to represent such a view".

Thus, according to the authors, Harriet Baldwin and Bruce Ross-Larson (1991), their kit is presenting a "mainstream" view on international development. Next, in the foreword, Baldwin and Ross-Larson makes clear that the book – albeit about processes and issues of development and the "efforts of people everwhere to move toward a better world, a world in which more people will be well fed, in good health, and able to make choice about the way they make a living" – will draw on the experience of the World Bank to expand students' knowledge of the developing world. As they put it, "since 1946, the World Bank has been assisting the world's poor countries in their efforts to improve the living conditions of their people". These introductory statements are already somewhat problematic from a development education perspective, since the task of improving students' knowledge of the developing world has been tied to an a priori assumption that the World Bank has indeed been helpful to Third World peoples. It would have been more consistent to suggest at the outset that the World Bank's role in development has been perceived as "helpful" and as "detrimental" by different spokespersons, and hence students will need to adopt a critical, objective approach to World Bank conduct.

The first three chapters of the SB present Baldwin and Ross-Larsen's overview of the nature of development problems, and the "whys and hows of economic development". In distinguishing between industrial and developing countries, they zeroed in on five characteristics of the latter: most people are poor; most live off agriculture; the people lack skills, tools and machines for

increasing their ability to produce goods and services; dependency on imports; and rapidly growing populations. While there is descriptive information here which would be useful for development education, the text reveals paradigmatic interpretations. For example, they answered their own question "why are so many hundreds of millions of people in developing countries poor?" as follows:

"The main reason is that these people cannot produce enough or find the work to earn adequate incomes. They do not have the skills, tools or machines that would enable them to produce more and earn more. They must work hard and long just to survive".

This answer evidently leads learners onto the path of technocratic thinking about underdevelopment – more skills, tools or machines will cure the problem. Missing are the political, economic and sociological analysis of domestic and global structural violence that lie at the deep roots of poverty. Moreover, although reference is made in the agriculture section on the lack of land and income for many poor farmers, and the high fees charged by moneylenders, the authors do not take the opportunity to clarify the unequal class structures pervasive in Third World rural contexts, and the problems generated by capital-intensive, elite-controlled export-oriented agricultural modernization. Instead, the idea of a vicious circle of poverty fueled by lack of capital is stressed:

"Because industrial countries have a lot of physical and human capital, they can produce a lot of goods and services. Because developing countries generally have much less capital, they produce far fewer goods and services. To improve the living conditions of their people, developing countries must produce more. But to produce more, they must have more capital. Without that capital, incomes remain low, and many people remain poor" (Student book, Kit 1: 13-14; see also pp. 33 ff).

No attempt is made to ask the student to consider the political-economic processes, structures and relationships underpinning such North-South gaps, or the gaps between Third World elites and the poor majorities, in ownership, control and access to capital.

On the issue of imports, the SB tends to diminish the self-reliant capacity of the South to provide for their own basic needs. Instead, developing countries are said to "need many things from other countries. Examples are food, energy, machinery, and advice from experts on how to run factories, build dams and railroads, and train nurses and teachers" (SB, Kit 1: 14). That such

dependence on imports may be the reality now should not mean, however, that it is inevitable, and more importantly students need to become aware of the development paradigm that perpetuates such dependency, and its major beneficiaries, be they North or South elites or agencies.

In Chapter 3 of the student text, Baldwin and Ross-Larsen present their analysis of the "whys and hows of economic development". It provides much food for thought about the paradigmatic orientation of the kit. There is an early critical, brief reference to colonization, whereby industrialized regions benefited from their colonies without reciprocally improving the latter's living conditions. But the remaining analysis directs students towards the modernization paradigm. The post 1945 independence era was said to produce governments more concerned with their people's interests, and also a shift in relations between rich and poor countries. A combination of felt moral obligation towards poor peoples, and prospects for economic opportunities in developing states, led the rich world to give hundreds of billions worth of aid. Consequently,

"developing countries are now engaging in economic development...making many changes to increase the ability of their people to produce more goods and services. They are being assisted by industrial countries, which have already made these changes. As a result of this joint effort, the living conditions of millions of people in developing countries are improving, and some of the gains are striking." (SB, Kit 1: 29.)

The world order portrayed here is therefore one of reciprocal interdependence between North and South, without asking if that interdependence disguises structural injustices, and how authentic is the alleged improvement in living conditions, not to mention retrogression in many areas of the South. Baldwin and Ross-Larsen does, of course, discuss the familiar argument of contemporary modernization advocates that growth alone is not enough. Rather economic growth must be accompanied by equity; hence by the 70s, "governments of many developing countries began to pay more attention to assisting the poorest people so that they too would benefit from economic growth" (SB, Kit 1:31). This statement reflects one theme that consistently surfaces in the learning kits – namely, a faith or reliance that Third World governments will fulfill their responsibilities to all their citizens, notably the poorest, a faith that is questionable given the empirical record of not only neglect, but even gross exploitation of the poor to satisfy the demands of elite sectors. Indeed, Baldwin and Ross-Larsen themselves injected some doubt into that faith by noting that an "important tool of government is to

encourage economic activities that promote economic growth, *and if it so chooses,* economic equity" (SB, Kit 1, pg. 34, our emphasis). Why Governments would or would not also promote equity is not clarified in the text. This brief doubt aside, the text creates an imagery in the minds of students that development is about certain important societal actors coordinating and cooperating in the activities known as development, viz:

"By taking responsibility for large development projects, making sure that government actions encourage economic growth, and planning for economic development, governments of developing countries provide leadership to the private sector and create the conditions for doing business. Individuals and private companies, in turn, have key roles to plan in economic development as they save and invest money, conceive new and innovative marketing ideas, and take the risks of setting up and running new businesses."

It is significant that the above statement makes no mention of equity, and above all, no direct reference to the ordinary human beings who will be the recipients of those elite-controlled policies. From a development education perspective, the text encourages learners to see development in technocratic and elite-determined systems, and to not consider from the outside the actual realities of structural violence embedded in such arrangements, or the necessity for people-power transformation.

Following their overview of development ideas and explanations, Baldwin and Ross-Larsen encourage students to consider seven areas of economic development activities. Interspersed in the textual information and discussion are "what would you do if..." case analysis which put students into the roles of a developing country person and ask them to to make "choices" about alternative strategies for development, given particular circumstances. To be concise in reporting our findings, each of these areas will be summarized in terms of what we feel are their paradigmatic characteristics:

• Increasing physical infrastructure: The role of physical infrastructure in development cannot be denied. What the text fails to do is discuss more critically the political economic biases of such infrastructural building in the modernization paradigm: whose interests have been prioritized in the large-scale projects so extensively supported by aid, including World Bank funds? It is not simply the "hard choices", as the text suggest, made by "developing countries" (how much choice do ordinary citizens have in those decisions?) between "development" and consequences like cutting down trees, relocating people and losing farmland. The key point which "green" thinking makes is

that the latter effects constitute underdevelopment, and hence an ecologically sustainable mode of infrastructure building must be creatively designed under the PEACE paradigm. In contrast, the "what would you do..." case analysis provided in the kits encourage students to make their choices largely within the modernization paradigm, since the information presented leave unquestioned the societal status quo in Indonesia.

• Increasing industrial production: The discussion on this activity does refer to the need of environmental care in use of resources and disposal of waste products, and of the importance of making technology more appropriate to labour-intensive poor countries. These are good points from the PEACE paradigm, but the text does not bring in political-economic issues of industrialization which questions the counterbasic needs orientation of such policies implemented under modernization, and of the exploitative role of foreign, notably North, agencies (e.g transnational corporations). The rags-to-riches case story of a successful Costa Rica businessman is likewise deficient in pointing out the structures of unequal class relations that make such stories more exceptional than a rule, or the labour exploitation that happens in export-oriented agribusiness.

• Increasing agricultural production: The emphasis Baldwin and Ross-Larsen give here is squarely in the modernization paradigm. By investing in new agritechnologies (e.g. new seeds, fertilizers, machinery, planting techniques) and infrastructure (e.g. irrigation), poor farmers can increase their pro- duction and income. While land reform is mentioned as a helpful strategy, it is analyzed superficially, and dependent on governments buying land from landlords. What if the latter are resistant to selling is not considered as an issue. Most importantly, students are not given alternative critical perspectives on the problem of rural underdevelopment that have emerged over the past three decades of development education. In this regard, the case story of a Philippine youth whose family has benefited from the "Green Revolution" (albeit a term unused in the text) in rice, hides the more basic reality that the Filipino peasantry has hardly benefited, not to mention suffered, from the Green Revolution.

• Increasing foreign trade: The line taken in this part of the discussion is twofold. First, developing countries are described as attempting to diversify their economic production and exporting more manufactured goods. Se-

condly, since these activities require capital and technology, the industrial world can assist through investment technical know-how, and international distribution networks. In the PEACE paradigm, such an analysis of foreign trade begs many questions about who really benefits from the trade; whether the industries are appropriate for the country's basic needs; the pitfalls of dependency; and why South-South linkages are not raised. The case story of a Uruguay widow who has to decide between expanding a hide tanning factory into a leather product export industry, and close the tannery down and retire in comfort, similarly leaves out these kinds of critical questioning about trade. There is none of the issues that would be raised in critical development education about the need for citizens of rich countries to rethink their consumption of the world's resources.

- Educating and training people: Baldwin and Ross-Larson adopt a modernization perspective on this topic, where the concept of "human capital" is central.

Schooling and other forms of education or training helps produce the human capital required for a modern economy. The picture portrayed by the authors is that governments in the developing countries are trying their best to expand schooling for all citizens, including the poorest, adults and marginalized groups like women. Their main concern is that "education and training must go hand in hand with improved employment opportunities". In the case analysis, a Bolivian girl is asked to choose between going to school in the capital city in the hope of getting a modern wage job, or remaining in her traditional village life circumstances. What Baldwin and Ross-Larson have omitted to systematically analyze are the serious development problems that modern educational systems continue to promote (e.g. educated unemployment, diploma disease, technocratic biases), and their integral linkages with social injustices and political/economic/cultural dependency. There may be surface reforms at meeting the educational needs of the poor and marginalized, or providing more relevant vocational training. But these activities cannot hide the ongoing structural role of educational systems in sustaining the power and privileges of elite groups. Certainly, the student text makes no reference to ideas like conscientization and empowerment in talking about education and training.

- Assisting the poorest people: Reference to the poorest billion or more

people in this section follows very much World Bank thinking and vision. Thus the plight of the rural and urban poor is acknowledged. The solution lies in reorienting agricultural policies to help small-scale farmers and give jobs via rural industrialization. To alleviate urban poverty, low-cost slum housing and building materials are being provided. Likewise, health clinics and schools for the poor are being built. Baldwin and Ross-Larson caution, however, against over-optimism.

"Despite these efforts, it will be many decades before most of the poorest children have an opportunity to attend school and receive good health care. It will be many decades before most of the poorest adults have opportunities for productive employment. And it will be many decades before most of the poor live in decent surroundings." (SB, Kit 1: 65.)

One limitation of such analysis of the poorest is that the impression is given that Third World governments, aid agencies, and elite classes (not mentioned by the authors) are serious and sincere about redistribution of national resources and wealth. Yet, students are not asked where the poorest come from to begin with, and why alternatives for more just economic and social systems are not organized, both within and across countries. For readers who come from the affluent North, surely a development-education text would catalyze them to reflect critically on the possible roles of their nations and themselves, as rich world consumers, in the existence of the poorest.

• Slowing population growth: The seventh area of economic activity discussed is the perceived problem of rapid population growth that impedes efforts to improve living conditions. Readers are told about various national strategies to reduce family size, although it is pointed out that a successful program of economic development helps. If family incomes and healthcare improve, and women become better educated, then pressures to have more children decline. In this regard, this topic can be considered one of the more critical parts of the kit. "Overpopulation" is not simply stereotyped as a major cause of underdevelopment, while the case story of a Kenyan woman contemplating family planning reflects well the realities of the problem.

Chapter Five of the student text looks at the issue of "paying for economic development". Here, the authors present a largely descriptive, modernization statement. Poor countries need funds to cover for what they cannot pay themselves on development programs and projects. Such financing comes from a variety or external sources, including bilateral and multilateral aid

agencies, private banks/companies, foundations and NGOs. The concluding paragraph admits to problems in this facet of development, but the analysis remains within the modernization paradigm:

"But economic events in the 1970s and 1980s created severe problems for many developing countries. Higher prices meant cutting back imports of goods and services needed for development. Higher interest rates and growing debt repayments limited imports further. And diminishing world trade made it more difficult for developing countries to increase their exports, which are the basis of their imports and their ability to repay loans. These problems will ease only when the world economy grows stronger and world trade expands, enabling developing countries to increase their exports, import more, and speed up their economic development." (SB, Kit 1: 81.)

Although the text is the 1991 edition, it is clear that the authors have decided to avoid any critical discussion of the international debt crisis, which dominated the 80s and continue to impose untold suffering on the poor peoples of the world. To do so, however, would have required a demystification of the modernization paradigm of development, since such capital funding from external sources have underpinned the kinds of development activity promoting structural violence. Furthermore, Baldwin and Ross-Larson provides no discussion of some very cogent critiques of aid that have appeared within the PEACE paradigm as earlier noted.

Finally, the student text of Kit 1 concludes with answers to questions like: "what is the record of economic development?; what has been achieved?; what problems remain to be solved?; how has economic development affected relationships among countries?" On these questions, the authors optimistically present a modernization assessment of the international economic order. Thus we find statements like "the record of economic development is impressive"; "never before have the living conditions of so many people improved so much in so short a time"; and "economic development has brought about tremendous growth in the production of goods and services in many developing countries". More developing countries are said to be "breaking out of the vicious cirde ...(of) low production-low saving-low investment in capital-low production...", into the "spiral of economic growth". The improvement in living conditions of hundreds of millions of people would have been better if not for population growth. In development education, such views would need to be critically reexamined for their assumptions about what "human progress" means. If social and economic indicators show improvement for millions, they do not tell us at what cost such achievement has been for many more millions whose ability to self-sustain themselves have been undermined by modernization activities.

They also do not comment on the vital issue of North affluence and over/mal-development, without whose impact (rather than the factor of population growth), the basic needs of all human beings might/ could have been met at far less ecological destruction to our planet.

Baldwin and Ross-Larson do admit to some "unsolved problems" of development, namely: developing and industrial countries must focus more attention on reducing absolute poverty; the lack of natural resources or huge populations which retard progress in the poorest countries; the pressures on the environment from development activities, population growth and poverty, and hence the need for envrionmental proection, renewal, conservation and recycling; the huge difference in living standards of developing and industrial countries; and inequalities of opportunities for women, half of the developing world's "potential human capital" who need to be drawn more fully into economic development. All these "unsolved problems", however, have been systematically discussed in the PEACE paradigm of development, and development educators would have seen them as central problems for students to analyze, not be confronted as a list of "unsolved problems" in the concluding pages of the book. But to do so would have required an alternative approach to understanding development in holistic terms, and posed challenging questions to the authors' interpretations.

In the very last few pages, the authors spend some time on the term "interdependence". Here it is all too clear that North-South relationships are considered along mainstream modernization themes. South countries now supply the North consumer goods in addition to natural resources. But the North is also dependent on the South for export markets of goods and services. Increasingly, there are signs of concern and reaction from developing countries about their relative dependence on the industrialized world; reduced aid flows; competition for nonrenewable resources; and international economic recession which reduces trade. Baldwin and Ross-Larson suggest a need for a changing interdependence whereby economic decisions of industrial countries must "take into account the well-being of developing countries" while "developing countries must make the best possible use of their limited resources to keep economic development moving forward as rapidly as possible".

"Further changes lie ahead as economic development continues and interdependence becomes greater than ever before. These changes can lead toward a better world – a world in which all countries cooperate to achieve a better life for everyone. In such a world, the well-being of each country

would depend on the well-being of all countries". (SB, Kit 1: 97.)

In thus analyzing interdependence, the authors are not presenting alternative critical viewpoints on what authentic interdependence really entails, including a radical democratization of the global regime of resource use, production and distribution, and sustainable alternatives to the "spiral of economic growth" in which the poor majorities passively watch, often under coercion and much suffering, their elites try to endlessly catch up with the rich of the North.

In sum, the student book is largely an exercise in introducing learners to the assumptions, explanations, conceptual tools, and strategies of the modernization paradigm. Only occasionally are ideas and possibilities from the PEACE paradigm mentioned, and then quickly in passing while the agenda of understanding returns to modernization viewpoints and interpretations. It is also noteworthy that the authors manage to screen from their discussion of development such global crises and related problems as militarization, human rights, and cultural marginalization, which would have been included in a holistic orientation to development education.

(b) The Teaching Guide

Written by Baldwin with the assistance of Ross-Larson and Washington DC school teachers, this first edition of the teaching guide (hereafter refered to as TG) contains 15 lesson plans to be used in conjunction with the student text and the videocassette (2 film strips in first edition). It has been pilot tested in classrooms in Washington DC and its Maryland and Virginia suburbs, and then evaluated in many schools throughout the United States. At the outset, the guide cites two educational goals of Kit 1:

"The first goal is to increase students' knowledge – of the nature and extent of world poverty, of the process of economic development, and of the growing interdependence of rich and poor countries that economic development is bringing about. The second goal is to encourage students to develop informed opinions – about relieving world poverty, about economic development, and about global interdependence." (ST, Kit 1, 1981, p. 5.)

Since the guide was written to complement the student book, we will avoid repeating critical observations we have made about the latter's analysis of development. We will focus instead on any other features or tendencies of the teaching guide which may confirm or diverge from those observations.

We are also mindful that a second edition of the guide is about to be released, and hence do not know exactly what revisions might have been made. However, comparing the 1988 print of the Student Book with the 1991 edition which was anlyzed above, leads us to expect no substantial changes except in labelling of countries (previously "developing" and "less developed countries" were used) and a greater sensitivity to environmental concerns.

To begin with, the lessons suggested reflect a sometimes almost repetitive concern with descriptions of development indicators, or symptoms of underdevelopment. The exercises also induct students into the particular framework by which Baldwin and Ross-Larson conceptualize economic development, and we cannot see any well thought-out curriculum development plan to encourage students to consider and contrast alternative paradigms. Indeed, one lesson (5) included a detailed format for testing students, and the fourth test question asked: "why do you think so many people in the developing countries are poor?". To guide teachers, the following sample answer is worth citing in full:

"A good paper would make some of the following statements:
The LDCs got a late start with modern technology.
Millions of people are in poor health, have little to eat, and have little educational opportunity.
There are not enough jobs.
Many people work in agriculture and are unable to produce much.
There is little physical capital (tools, machinery, and vehicles) or human capital (modern knowledge and skills) so people cannot produce much.
Few things can be imported.
Populations are increasing, so what little there is must be divided among more people" (TG, Kit l: 33).

The modernization stamp is obvious in this sample answer to a question about causes of underdevelopment. Clearly, ideas like structural violence, exploitation by elites, North-South inequalities and other themes from the PEACE paradigm are not considered to be part of a "good paper" on that test question. A parallel example of the guide's paradigmatic orientation is found in Lesson 11 on "Paying for Economic Development" (TG, Kit 1:56). There, a guide question for teachers to use reads: "with so many sources of money to pay for economic development, why are the LDCs still so poor?" And Baldwin answers that "students should be able to respond that the needs of the LDCs are very great, and the money available to help them, although very great, is not nearly enough". Missing therefore is a critical discussion

of alternative opinions on aid issues which has been done effectively in critical development education resources. It is true that one worksheet (No. 21) lists a number of different opinions on development assistance, but these do not really give a holistic critical view on aid as found in the PEACE paradigm.

A second problematic feature of the lesson plans relates to the use of the "what would you do if...." case-stories found in the student book. The pedagogical technique employed is to ask students to consider changes and other aspects of the lives of the Third World individuals featured in the stories. For example, in Lesson 7 and 8, students are asked to reflect on "what values are being challenged" for the Philippine boy; "what new risks must she take" for the Uruguayan woman, and "what relationships are changing" for the Bolivian girl (TG, kit 1: worksheet No. 6, pg. 4). Yet, in the very description of those individual lives, the student book already fails to give a deep-structural analysis which helps students relate micro-events to wider societal structures and relationships in a critical way. The linkages that the text describe or imply are constrained within a modernization framework whereby the analyzable "changes" rationalize the social, economic and political status quo. Not least, the emphasis on individual life-changes and choices do not alert students to the crucial need and solidarity of community and social grassroots movements for change by, of and for the poor, movements that challenge local and national elitist power structures. Thus pedagogically, the teaching guide in conjunction with the student book, would not encourage teacher-users to engage in conscientization about development problems.

A third deficiency of the lesson plans is that they replicate the tendency in the student book to talk about "countries" (whether developed or less developed, industrial or developing) as though "countries" constitute a homogenous entity which makes decisions about development. Unless students can begin to see that it is not "countries" in the abstract which makes policies but people and groups in power and with power which determines policies and decision-making, then they will not be able to fully understand the root causes of underdevelopment and the continuing marginalization of the poor majorities. Further, they will not appreciate the necessity therefore for the marginalized to be empowered so that decisions made in the name of their "countries" begin to more truly reflect their interests for dignified, humane life rather than the vested interests of a few elites, local or global. It will also encourage learners to feel the need for solidarity between the nonelites of

North and South regions to join in a common struggle for global democratization.

Last but not least, a critical observation about the teaching guide concerns suggested resources for teachers to use or read. In writing effective curriculum kits, it is important to give such guidance so that teacher-users can deepen or update their own understanding of the topics to be taught. In this regard, the teaching guide is strikingly modernization in reach. With the partial exception of Mahbub ul Huq's The Poverty Curtain, which does discuss global inequalities, and advocates a new international economic order, the other recommended readings represent either the works of modernization analysts (e.g. Robert Baldwin's Economic Development & Growth; Wortman & Cummings' To Feed this World; even the conservative Peter Bauer's Dissent on Development), or modernization-oriented official and private agencies (e.g. World Bank, U.S. Congress, Overseas Development Council – a think tank with much influence during the Carter administration with a stress on liberalist interdependence ideology). There is a remarkable absence from the reading list of works reflective of the PEACE paradigm, which suggested that there was no serious commitment in the teaching guide to critical thinking. In our own efforts in development education, for example, students are exposed to the modernization paradigm and expected to objectively examine them in contrast to PEACE analysts.

Similarly, the collected film list in the guide manages to include a lot of what looks like descriptive or symptom-based films consistent with modernization views, and hardly any representatives of a whole genre of critical development films which have appeared since the popularization of development education by NGOs. Two such films included look at the new international economic order issue, but what about films on the structural violence of internal oppression and repression, and North-South linkages that collaborate in such marginalization of the poor majorities. In this regard, it is also pertinent to comment that the videocassette in Kit 1 does not deviate from the modernization perspectives found in the teaching guide and student book.

In sum, our detailed content analysis of the first learning kit in the Toward a Better World series justifies its characterization as being a useful curriculum resource for introducing students to the modernization paradigm on underdevelopment and development. But it cannot qualify as an adequate tool for development education, given the various tendencies and emphases noted in our analysis. Learners, and indeed the teachers using the kit in a

conscientious fashion (assuming they have no prior critical exposure to the PEACE paradigm), are unlikely to ask deep-structure questions about the failure of development policies, and much more likely to believe in the tenets, vision, concepts, and strategies underlying the powerful, modernization complex of North and South governments and elite groups or agencies. In the remainder of this paper, we will continue our critical examination of the remaining four kits in this learning series. However, to avoid an overdetailed and overlong critique, and also because these kits are are focused case-studies, our analysis will be more concise.

Kit 2: The Rajasthan Canal Project

This kit focuses on a case-study of the Rajasthan Canal Project in northwestern India, where beginning in the 50s, a huge canal irrigation scheme was implemented to convert dry lands to irrigated farmlands. The case study employs the technique of weaving into a discussion of the scheme the life-story of Ranjit Singh, a poor farmer from birth till his participation as a young adult in the scheme as a beneficiary. In the early 70s, a second project costing $174 million to improve on the original Rajasthan canal system was launched with World Bank assistance (48 % project cost). The case study, which is written up in the student book, attempts to show through the experiences of Ranjit Singh how such an economic development project was established, its impact on the lives of poor Indian peasants like Ranjit, and the overall contribution of the project to development in India.

Baldwin, the author of the student book and teaching guide, clearly sees the Rajasthan project as a successful example of a development project which results in the accessibility of some poor farmers in that region of India to badly needed infrastructure, especially a steady water supply. National and state governments are described as cooperating to build the canal system, giving loans to the poor to buy land in the irrigated zone, providing extension field workers to help farmers improve farming techniques, and creating social services such as schooling and healthcare. The World Bank funded improvement of the Rajasthan scheme assisted some obstacles in the original project to be overcome, so that several positive outcomes were evident: 500,000 acres of farmland (33,000 farms) irrigated; higher yields; income of farmers doubled; more labouring jobs in construction and on the expanded farms; improved transportation and distribution networks; more schools and health clinics. Baldwin concluded by noting that such kinds of

irrigation projects, costing $1.5 billion, throughout India will benefit some 7 million landowners and farm labourers. She does, however, note that India has nearly 700 million people, and hence 7 million beneficiaries are a small number. Hence,

"India needs even more irrigation. It needs many other things as well – more factories, more energy, more schools, more hospitals, more trained people, more agricultural production, more transportation and communication. These needs are a challenge to the Indian people and their national and state governments. These needs are also a challenge to the industrialized countries, which can help India by providing money, expert advice, and an economic environment in which India's growth can continue" (ST, Kit 2: 38.)

Our analysis does not wish to query the numbers of individual farmers or labourers that have benefited from the Rajasthan project, or the kinds of benefits received as claimed in the case study. Rather, from a critical development-education perspective, we are concerned with the assumptions and conceptual emphasis in the case-study, as well as its likely educational impact on students and learners. It is clear that the case-study is written to validate a technocratic orientation to economic development and aid. Thus responsible government policy-makers and bureaucracies, with aid from external agencies like the World Bank, deliver needed goods and services to the poor. Overall national development hence comprises many such activities, and sooner or later, the marginalized majorities will have their share of the pie of growth. And people of the North should feel pleased that their aid taxes are being put to good use.

Yet, in India and other Third World contexts, the realities of rural underdevelopment and development are more complex and contradictory than depicted in the case study. Some key omissions in the case study include the lack of discussion of social class inequalities and in the case of India, discriminatory caste distinctions which interact with government policies and practices. Portrayal of the lives of the poor, although noting well enough the symptoms of poverty, curiously leave out the role that elites (e.g. landlords) play in perpetuating such suffering. The case study gives only very light and subtle hints that the wealthier rural elites may be able to buy up lands with choice access to the canals. There is no consideration raised that government officials involved in the project may participate in graft and corrupt patronage practices which favour rural elites. On the issue of participation, the case study itself describes the passive nature in which peasants like Ranjit came to know about the project – through village talk, and then one day the construc-

tion began. Yet in the teaching guide, there is no attempt made to analyse this as a problematic issue for development theory and practice. The lack of people's active participation in such a project, and the role of government technocrats/bureaucrats and external experts/advisers as the sole arbiter of project planning and implementation, handing down "all good things" from above to the masses below, should have been an important aspect of the case study and the teaching guide.

Pedagogically, Kit 2 does not go beyond the parameters set down in the student book. .Sample lessons look at areas of development activities already framed in Kit 1 analyzed above, while an exercise which asks students to make choices between different kinds of aid projects is unlikely to trascend technocratic analysis given the kind of background knowledge provided. Furthermore, the task of understanding the life events of individual families like Ranjit Singh's, in terms of changes in relationships, challenges to values, and individual risk-taking, cannot be holistic when students are not aware of the macro structural environment in which individual lives are enmeshed.

The kit also includes a brief economic summary of India. The approach taken here is likewise reflective of modernization thinking. While acknowledging the continuing poverty of India's poor majorities, the summary presents an uncomplicated view of progress. Thus government development policies and plans are helping the poorest; the GNP has tripled since 1950; factories and infrastructure expanded; agriculture boosted by new seeds and fertilizers; increased manufacturing and exports attained; and more schooling and adult literacy provided. But it admits that

"despite its steady economic growth, living conditions in India are improving much too slowly. Millions of Indians still are unemployed or earn too little to support a decent life. Life for most people in Indian cities still is squalid and miserable. Millions of farm families still must go hungry during much of the year. Throughout India, there are too few schools and teachers, too few hospitals and clinics, too few doctors, nurses, and other health workers." (Economic Summary, India: 7, Kit 2.)

The answer though will come from more rapid growth, and in turn more money. This summary of India's development situation clearly provides students with no critical appreciation of some of the root causes of the problems: the role of elites in structural violence; the millions of labourers condemned to bonded or quasi-slavery work; the high level of official and private graft and corruption that leaves the marginalized poorly served by governmental agencies; caste oppression; the marginalization of women; en-

vironmental destruction from modernization schemes; the cooptation of democratic processes by elites at all levels of government; and despite its mass poverty, the squandering of successive governments of scarce national resources on rapidly escalating modern militarization. In addition, the summary pays no respect to the emergence of courageous grassroots movements for social transformation based on justice, ecological sustainability, and people's participation. In sum, Kit 2 might have achieved meaningful development education goals if its approach had counterposed the technocratic dimensions of official development policies with people-controlled and emancipatory models. Certainly, the choice of the Rajasthan Canal as a case study, and the way it was discussed and proposed for classroom use, significantly constrain teachers towards a modernization paradigm of analysis.

Kit 3: Small-Scale Industries in Kenya

This kit, also authored by Baldwin, focuses on a case study of how a Kenyan development agency, the Kenyan Industrial Estates (KIE), assist the development of small-scale industries with support from lending bodies like the World Bank. The lives of two Kenyan men, one (Karari) a university graduate who is recruited into KIE's management, the other (George) an urban poor lumber labourer who begins his own small furniture factory, are interconnected in the case study to show how KIE accomplishes its goals, and serves a positive role in national development. Readers are inducted into the details of the assistance given by KIE to small businesses, including machine/tool repairs, loans, and technical assistance, and even how a local application is actually evaluated by KIE criteria for feasibility. The story ends on a positive note with George succeeding in his full-time entrepreneurial venture with Karari and KIE's aid and encouragement.

From the PEACE paradigm, we do see value and importance in development strategies which increase the level of democratic participation of the poor and marginalized in self-reliant economic activities, including small businesses, and of course, assuming that they are ecologically sound. Our major concern with the case-study, and the teaching guide, is that it does not lead students to critically relate micro events and processes with the macro frameworks of Kenyan society. Thus, although the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation was briefly mentioned as being more helpful to larger businesses, this issue is never followed up. There is then no wider consideration of the national development paradigm which not only mar-

ginalizes small business, but more importantly, helps create the roots for rural underdevelopment, rural-to-urban migration, and disporportionately benefits the elite minority in Kenya as well as foreign investors (e.g. agribusiness). The stories of the individuals are written without reference to the significant others in Kenyan society, including the rich and politically powerful responsible for the modernization paradigm and its accompanying structural violence. Difficult political-economic questions are not raised when students are asked to recall what "Kenya must do if living conditions are to improve?" The teaching guide states that

"students should be able to recall the following:
- increase the number of rural and urban jobs;
- produce more goods and services;
- help people to develop skills in using machines and operating businesses;
- produce more exports;
- expand basic services;
- reduce population growth". (TG, Kit 3, p. 40).

Such a recall list clearly underscores modernization thinking and visioning.

Pedagogically, we do not see the need or value in such detailed exposure to the in-and-outs of the lending process and other technical aspects of how small businesses can be assisted. In development education, it is more important in evoking critical understanding about and empathy for peoples struggling in underdevelopment contexts than becoming fluent in technical or technological practices. This technicist orientation of the kit is further confirmed in one classroom exercise where students simulate a Ministry of Economic Planning meeting, role-playing technocrats or bureaucrats, to prioritize development activities. Here, there is no sense given of the importance of people empowerment and participation in development programs. Why not instead a role-play that demonstrates the conflicting interests that can arise in development projects? Why should it be only individual entrepreneurs who succeed? Why were community-based and controlled small businesses not show cased, to bring how the principles of solidarity, sharing and grassroots democracy? Last but not least, it is interesting that the choice of a furniture small-business as the central story fails to asks environmental questions, since the factory is dependent upon a supply of lumber. Where would that come from, especially with dwindling forest reserves in the country?

Likewise the modernization paradigm is obvious in the economic sum-

mary of Kenya provided for student reference. Although environmental degradation is cited as a serious problem, the recommended strategies for development and growth are quite familiar: more export oriented agriculture; more modern industry and infrastructure; more expert aid to help Kenya develop. Granted, there is also a call for more social services and help for the urban and rural poor, but given the absence of structural tools by which students can make sense of the phenomenon of poverty, this call is unlikely to be other than government and aid agencies dispensing largesse. Certainly, in the light of recent evidence of the increasing repressive character of modernization-pushed growth in Kenya, this learning kit will need radical changes to become a valid development education tool.

Kit 4: Tackling Poverty in Rural Mexico

This kit brings the learning series to the Latin American region of the world, and concentrates on the role of PIDER, an integrated rural development project implemented by the Government of Mexico, with external funding assistance, to tackle poverty in one of the poorest regions of the country. The lives of campensinos are portrayed in terms of their historical and present conditions of poverty, induding the failure of land reform initiated by the Mexican Revolution as well as neglect by government agencies, and how they became involved in PIDER. As a coordinator of multiple existing government branches, PIDER works in various microregions with a total of some 6 million poor rural people to bring modernization which improves their living conditions. PIDER-coordinated projects include building roads, irrigation systems, providing loans for seeds, tools and fertilisers, training in new farming methods, storage facilities for the produce, and social amenities (e.g. schooling, health-care, clean water). Two sub-case studies are described in detail to show how PIDER works in bringing an irrigation system to a microregion (followed by increased and new crop production) and how another microregion used demonstration plots to diffuse new farming methods. The student book concludes by praising PIDER for helping the Mexican rural poor break out of their "vicious circle of poverty".

Again, as in our analysis of earlier kits, we would not dispute that individual campesinos and their families or communities have been able to improve their living conditions through specific PIDER projects, assuming effective implementation of plans. But we must reiterate the importance of

encouraging students to think holistically about Mexico's underdevelopment. If there are poorer regions, as compared for example to the elite centres of the slum-surrounded cities, or the heavily invested agribusiness areas next to the U.S. border, students need to be able to aks why such disparities have become entrenched. Yet in the learning kit, there is never any serious engagement with those elite sectors of Mexican society that are at the centre of political power and which, through modernization have become hugely enriched at the expense of the poor majorities, who are left to pay for a long time to come the massive indebtedness owed to the private banks and IMF. This learning kit, as do the others, shys away from critical analysis of social class structure and the resultant structural violence it perpetuates. Instead, the student is left with a modernization rationale for more of the same:

"Improving the living conditions of Mexico's poorest farmers is complex and expensive. It will take time - and a lot of money." (SB, Kit 4: 47.)

Surely more to the point, which regretably the kit does not note, is the reality that the entrenchment and opulence of Mexico's rich has consumed vastly more money and time of national resources whilst saddling their people with one of the largest debt burdens in the South.

Secondly, we would question the kit's untroubled advocacy of agricultural modernization à la new seeds and other modern inputs characteristic of the Green Revolution model. Indeed, it is curious that the student book skips over this history of how Mexico was actually the birthplace of the Green Revolution. It would have been enlightening for students to become aware of the political-economic problems of an approach to development that is reduced to technological "advances", as the evidence worldwide of Green Revolution applications demonstrate. But more importantly, the kit fails to ask students to consider the sustainability of agricultural "development" that relies on expensive, chemical inputs (with all their ecological negativities) and other capital-intensive technologies, instead of affordable and sustaining alternative modes of agricultural production (e.g. organic farming; reduced export-orientation). It is also seen that even when there is an appearance of community participation in PIDER decision-making, that does not mean that all possible alternatives for action have been equitably posed for consideration by the poor. For instance, the demonstration plots mentioned could and should well have compared organic to chemical farming. In short, Kit 4 is underpinned by a modernization ethos, although this does not mean that PIDER-type case-studies cannot be used for development education. But that

would require alternative new information, ideas and a lot more critical questioning encouraged on the part of the students.

Kit 5: Improving Indonesia's Cities

Published in 1986, this fifth kit in the series is designed to help students understand the process and problems of urbanization. Indonesia is used as a case-study of a country where government policies are attempting to improve the living conditions of the urban poor population in its cities, although details and personal life-stories refer to kampungs in the capital city of Jakarta and their respective kampung improvement programs. Students are told about such programs as pavement of slum paths, and provision of water and other social services for slum residents. In the Klender kampung project, a new community was built based on partial "core" houses which were then completed by low-income purchasers using their own resources. It is also in this kit where the topic undergoes further exploration as a general problem facing developing countries, and cases of other countries are compared and contrasted.

Overall, the kit gives a very positive evaluation of the success of Indonesia's efforts in trying to improve its cities for the benefit of the urban poor. Over 1969-1984, some US $200 million had been spent on such programs, and in 1982, the Aga Khan gave an award in recognition of the progress made. Government agencies and officials are generally depicted as sincere and conscientious in attempting to bring basic housing and other social services to citizens hitherto denied adequate amenities. The student book does admit to some difficulties in implementing such projects (e.g. conflicts between officials and residents about changes; poor maintenance of garbage by residents; inadequate water-supply pressure; inefficient tax collection to pay for improvements). But it does not see these as insurmountable, and considers the achievements very significant, including become role models for other poor countries embarking on urbanization improvement schemes.

We do agree that the provision of basic and dignified living conditions for the burgeoning urban poor in Third World cities is a fulfilment of their human rights. Too often, squatters have become targets of repression (e.g. demolition and coerced displacements) as governments and elite groups respond to what they perceive as nuisances or problems for urban planning, or as threats to real estate development. As Cardinal Sin recently commented on the squatters of Manila, we should not blame the poor for being homeless,

but rather homelessness is a reflection of Government and elite indifference, and societal injustices. What the case study does, however, through its treatment of the problem is to be largely symptomatic on the one hand (i.e. the underlying root causes of structural violence are not explicitly discussed), and to see solutions as projects handed down by government to the people. This means that in Indonesia's case, the entrenchment of a minority of elites (political-economic-military complex) is not raised as a major issue for analysis. Indeed, if the wealth from Indonesia's natural resources had been equitably distributed, and not disproportionately coveted by the rich and powerful groups, or squandered into a large, highly repressive military machine, then social services, including those for urban slums, could have made even more progress. Unless there is political democratization, and empowerment of the poor, then reference to "developing countries" like Indonesia embarking on determined pro-poor people policies is misleading students about prospects for change.

We are aware that such criticisms will raise protests from Indonesian experts who see the steps taken by Government to reach the poor (e.g. primary health care, basic literacy, slum improvement) as the best that can be expected under the circumstances. But in development education, the status quo cannot be merely accepted without close examination, even if there appear to be some signs of "progress". Equally important is the need for students to be aware that the paradigm of modernization favoured by Indonesian elites involve unsustainable exploitation of resources by those elites and/or foreign, usually North, investors. Development is also not just having enough bread and water, but also basic political, civil, social and cultural rights and freedoms. In this regard, even in the implementation of the kampung improvement projects, the case study itself shows how the people are simply proferred Government readymade plans. Note the instances where the slum dwellers hear rumours about possible improvement measures and then all of sudden, the construction teams move in to start the project, whilst the people still have no idea of what might be going on. In one case, some degree of participation was allowed for slum citizens to make a few changes to bureaucratic designs, but clearly the stories told do not speak of meaningful people empowerment and conscientization. Just as a banking model of educating exists in mainstream educational systems, likewise the urbanization process discussed reflects officials and experts banking models and plans into the repositories of largely passive citizens.

Finally, in pedagogical terms, we reiterate our concern with the strong

tendency in the kits to constantly refer to "developing countries" as doing this and doing that to attain progress for their poor peoples. It would be much more educational to ask students about what the powerful elites, groups, institutions and agencies are doing or not doing, for in this way, they will have a more realistic and holistic understanding of "why are problems difficult for urban countries?" Not as the suggested teaching guide answer puts it, that "improving cities is expensive, and resources are strained because people have so many needs" (TG, Kit 5: Worksheet No. 8) but rather because improving cities is not a priority need or want of the powerful elites, whose excessive needs divert scarce national resources away from fulfilling the basic needs of the poor majorities.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This exercise in critical content analysis of the Toward a Better World Learning Kit Series has produced, in our view, sufficient evidence to confirm the dominant modernization paradigm in the author(s)' presentation of ideas, case-studies and teaching-learning activities. From their general overview and conceptual understanding of development to more concrete case-studies on types and facets of development activities, students are invariably constrained by the issues raised, questions posed, and analysis taught, to think qua modernization analysts. Of course, we do not suggest that every little segment of the learning kits do not present occasionally ideas suggestive more of the PEACE paradigm, but what was so available appeared implicit, superficially or partially explained, and/or utlimately overwhelmed by the modernization thrust of values, content, skills and pedagogy.

We also, as mentioned at the outset, do not draw any unilinear implications from our assessment of this learning kit series to other curriculum resource material originating from the Development Education Office of the World Bank. Our views on such other resource materials for the tasks of development education must await another phase of this work-in-progress. But at least for the Toward a Better World Learning Kits, we conclude that the authors' worldviews have led them to design teaching-learning resources which per se cannot be deemed constructive for development education, in terms of what we under the broad umbella of peace education would see our vision and mission. However, this is not to deny that the kits can be critical-

ly used by aware teachers, accompanied by alternative material, to help students see through their paradigmatic emphasis. One vital fulcrum on which development education, indeed all dimensions of peace education, sit, is demystification, even of our own products and "truths". We hope this paper has helped to demystify one component of the World Bank's role as a development educator, and partly answered our subtitle: towards which paradigm? We fully appreciate that the views in the material analyzed cannot be attributed to the World Bank, to its affiliated organizations, or to any individual acting on their behalf. But if the World Bank may come to see some validity in our critique, then perhaps it may offer opportunities for PEACE paradigm perspectives to be represented in its development education repertoire.

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PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOL

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This paper summarizes the results of the peace and international education project which was carried out during 1987-1990. The final reports of the project are in Finnish (Rauhan- ja kansainvälisyyskasvatus koulussa) and in English (Growth towards Peace and Environmental Responsibility).

The Comprehensive School Act (1983) of Finland states the following: "The comprehensive school should aim at educating its pupils to become harmonious, healthy, responsible, independent, creative, *cooperative*, and *peace-oriented people* and members of society. The comprehensive school should educate its pupils to embrace high morality and good manners and to provide the pupils with readinesses necessary for the many-sided development of their personalities, for society and working-life, for choosing an occupation and further education, for *the protection of the living environment and nature*, for promotion of national culture and national values as well as *international cooperation and peace and to promote equality between the sexes*" (italics by author).

Peace and international education was understood as a wide concept, comprising the following eight education sub-topics: cultural, international, ecological, human rights, development, peace, equality and cooperation.

The project was carried out on the primary level of the comprehensive school in Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä is a middle-sized town and the school is situated in its suburban area. The school has 500 students aged between 7 and 12. In the school there are 32 teachers and three special classes for handicapped children. The goals and operational principles of the project are described in Box 1.

The aim of the project was to plan, carry out and evaluate activities suitable for primary school practice. The activities were planned in co-operation with the school personnel and especially with a project group elected from the teaching staff. The activities and the teachers' evaluation of the realization of the peace and international education are described. The project's teaching methods and educational practices of the project, based on educational psychology, aim at the development of students' ethical values, tolerance, self-esteem and cooperation.

Box 1. Major Characteristics of the Jyväskylä Peace and International Education Project

Goals	**Operational Principles**
Socio-emotional goals self-esteem, confidence in independent activity, tolerance *Cognitive goals* critical ability, many-sided picture of reality, positive attitude to differences and towards different cultures *Behavioral goals* altruism, role taking ability, peaceful behavior pattern	*Value orientation* Activity is guided by peace education values *Student-centredness* Activity is guided by valuation of student's own ideas and activity *Community-centredness* Activity is characterized by the use of different groups *Contacts with real life* Activity is characterized by discussions of current events and of things that have relevance to students' life world
Activity	
– in classrooms – in the whole school	– in home/school cooperation
Assessment and Feedback	
– teacher evaluation – student evaluation	– researcher evaluation

The main pedagogical principles were equality, student-centredness, cooperation, empowerment, problem-centredness and innovative, anticipatory learning. The main methods were drama, art, roletaking activities, cooperative learning and cooperative plays and games, visits to social institutions, environmental and outdoor education activities, shared responsibility practice, moral discussions and imaginary practice.

At the experimental school we established a friendship school relationship with a school in Tanzania. The conceptions of the 6th graders of the experimental school and of a control school, regarding Africans and Africa, were studied. The students of the experimental school gave more positive descriptions of the Africans than the students of the control school. The most common expression describing the Africans in both schools was "black and poor".

The preferences of the 4th graders of the experimental school, regarding competitive games and cooperative games, were charted. The students

preferred the planning of cooperative games, and more than half (58 %) of them liked these games better than competitive games.

The reports describe the activities of the experimental school, which were evaluated by the teachers. The activities had been grouped into four types of activities which promote the goals of peace and international education: 1) knowledge of oneself and one's culture; 2) tolerance; 3) cooperation and nonviolence; 4) activities that develop environmental responsibility.

The full English report can be ordered from the Institute for Educational Research (see address above; US $20). A related English video ("Friendship and Cooperation in School" by Riitta Wahlström and Seppo Pesonen, 17 minutes) is also available.

part 4:
paper summaries

A Perspective on the Hurdles to Education and Peace Education in Today's India

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The paper deals with:

1. The attitudes and circumstances that stand in the way of introducing peace education in today's India.
2. Conceptualization.
3. Lack of a spirit for experimentation. Lack of an holistic approach to education.
4. Circumstances such as financial constraint, want of teachers interested enough to take up the challenge.
5. Rules and regulations that govern the initiation of courses in the core curricula.
6. Some examples.

Two quotations from the paper:

Any one concerned with progress and well being of India's society must be deeply concerned that after 44 years of independence, India's society is being diminished and polluted by the increase of violence of all kinds. Violence is fast becoming a way of life and is taking a grip over the minds of young people.

India is blessed with one great asset which is of boundless help ... the legacy, experiences and experiments of eminent thinkers like Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi among others. Their experiments, thoughts and legacy are there for the path-seekers in order to find the right direction and face the challenge. And both of them stood for peace education being part of the academic curricula.

A Thematic Overview of Contemporary International Developments in Peace and World Order Studies in Universities

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The author considers the potential contributions of educational institutions, specifically universities, to the achievement of peace and world order, by examining the development of programmes of study and research in this general field of inquiry.

He proceeds thematically through a number of broad sub-divisions of research: (a) Developments in educational philosophy and practice; (b) Arms control, global security studies, defence studies, strategic studies; (c) Environment, development and economics; (d) Human rights, politics, law, world order, international relations; (e) Natural science, technology, medicine; (f) Arts, humanities, social sciences; (g) Philosophy, psychology, religion and theology.

The comments are based on a three year study conducted in the context of the University of London in which an analysis of trends and institutional developments in the field of peace and world order studies worldwide was undertaken. Initially this project was undertaken as part of a study into the potential of the University of London to establish a major new Institute of Peace and World Order.

A National School for Teachers of Conscientious Objectors: A Project and a Curriculum

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In 1991, there were about 18,300 conscientious objectors (COs) in Italy. A reform of the law governing COs calls for a three-month civil service education, which will, in turn, require some 450 full-time teachers – a new profession.

Since January 1989 the Italian Campaign for Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures has financed a National Project for Research on People's Nonviolent Defense (PND). A main task for this project has been to plan for a National School for Teachers of Conscientious Objectors. In January 1990 Italian PND researchers met together for editing a booklet on past experiences of education of COs. In October 1990 a week-long seminar was held on the methodology of such an education.

The debate on the curriculum of such a National School demonstrates many difficulties. One problem is how much time to devote to educating a teacher of COs? Depending on the availability of state funds and the possibility of recruiting suitable personnel, the time length discussed has varied from an initial training for two years to an emergency situation of two weeks. In any case, the new teachers should be given an annual refresher course to update their knowledge.

A second problem is how much time should be devoted to cognitive subjects, to emotive subjects (e.g. non-violent training, theatre), and to physical subjects (e.g. marches, cooking). The education of these teachers has to be applicable to the future education of COs, including preparation for unarmed, nonviolent defense.

With regard to cognitive subjects, the teaching should be by university professors. Among possible subject-matter areas are: International Law and Human Rights; Historical Cases of PND; National Emergency and Civil Protection; Psychology and Sociology of Conflict Resolution; Communications, Mass Media and Military Propaganda – and perhaps many others.

Several of these subject matter areas do not correspond to present-day university courses. They will have to be constructed by PND researchers,

and new textbooks will have to be written. In Italy, 17 booklets on PND have been edited. Some of these are translations from publications in other countries (Belgium, Austria). Others have been produced by Italian authors; noteworthy is one on non-violence during the Italian resistance in the province of Bergamo. Meridiana Editions has recently published a primer for a conscientious objector.

It would be an important contribution to the culture of the World Peace Movement to exchange materials about the education of COs in PND. I appeal to fellow peace researchers to collaborate in such a task.

Historically, science became a social power when the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris translated it from an elitist, intellectual interest into a widely shared tool for the action of the more motivated young, French people. The same may happen to the project of a new defense; it may become a powerful, social institution when it is transformed from an elitist idea into an activity of reflection among a large number of concerned young people – i.e. COs and civil servants. It will be the first time that the reflection on peace, war and defence – previously a monopoly of armed military institutions – will be assimilated into civil society as a constitutive part of its basic activities.

The Response of Israeli Academics to the Intifada

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During the 1989-90 school year sixty-six professors at Tel Aviv University were approached and asked to answer some questions concerning the intifada. Forty-one professors, with an age span from 39 to 70, agreed to reply. The professors approached were not randomly chosen, but they were from all faculties and the responses reflected almost all political views.

Among the questions were: Should your university contribute to coping with the social or political problems that arise as a result of the intifada? Have you personally done anything in order to cope with the problems that arise as a result of the intifada?

Examples from the results: (a) Relationship to justice: Only 8 professors expressed concern about justice, most of them on a very abstract level. (b) Assumed responsibility for the situation: Only 15 repondents declared that they assumed responsibility for the situation, but for most of them that meant participating at times in a demonstration. Only 6 of the professors assumed responsibility by day-to-day concrete acts. (c) The role of the intellectual elite: Only 6 of the professors believed that as an intellectual elite they must use their talents and knowledge to address the situation created by the intifada.

In general then, the Israeli university professors interviewed appeared as technicians of knowledge but not very much concerned about assuming political responsibility. Thus, say the authors, it should not surprise anyone that peace education in Israel is not at all linked to the academic establishment.

On the Relationship between Love and Education

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Violence makes it hard for students to learn in school. Students from violent homes are distracted and often unable to focus on school tasks. If they are abused at home, they may not trust adults and lack self-esteem. Violent and authoritative teachers don't earn the respect of their students.

Gandhi teaches us that love is the only way to mend the hurt of violence. Martin Luther King Jr. teaches us that love is the most powerful force we humans possess. We will never reach the fullness of this power unless we understand what love is. The intention of this paper is to help make it easier for educators to teach love to students by explaining the richness of love. Without an understanding of the complexities of love, people tend to think only of romantic love.

This paper examines different aspects of love and how they can be taught in the classroom. These different categories of love are agape, biophilia (love of life), camaraderie, caring, charity, compassion, eros, esprit de corps, familial love, friendship, gaiaphilia (love of mother earth), harmony, kinship, nonviolence, and self love.

Peace Education in Nonviolent Action and Training on the Spot

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Relying on voting is not enough to build a democratic society or even to secure our own survival today. We need to channel the will and energy for peace into appropriate actions. In Japan, peace education is regarded as dangerous by the ruling sector, which controls most schools, public and private. It has often emphasized knowledge and intellectual development, or in better cases appreciation of the art and music of other cultures. Action education is being avoided, but badly needed in reality.

Nonviolence must be introduced by practice, by bodily comprehension rather than intellectual understanding. Fights among children have to be dealt with on the spot by a teacher or parent in order for children to know the physical and psychological dangers which might be caused when escalated, and to know where to stop the fighting, as well as to understand how to solve the conflict by addressing the reasons for the fight. Meeting people and having dialogues with foreigners are far more effective in peace education than having vast knowledge about foreign countries and their cultures.

Reports are given on some of my personal experiences of the group dialogue called Quaker Dialogue with university students, and of the two anti-military campaigns at the happy wedding celebration of a young couple, a Japanese bride and an American groom, penetrating a US military base to protest, and of small rubber boats blockading huge warships coming into Yokosuka Port in Tokyo Bay.

Training to prepare for right actions is necessary. To overcome unnecessary fears, to enjoy doing things with trusted friends and to have commitment to the universal cause of positive nonviolence are very important.

It is urgently desired to gather examples of nonviolent actions and nonviolence education by IPRA. The Japanese "Peace" constitution provides an unprecedented legal foundation on which people in Japan should be able to undertake more positive nonviolent peace activities and action-oriented peace education, rather than sending her Self Defense Forces, an unconstitutional military entity, to Cambodia to play a part in the role of UN Peace-Keeping Forces.

An Evolving World Order: Challenges of Unification and Human Diversity

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This paper seeks to examine the challenges of society and human behavior in a world that is undergoing a thorough transformation. The paper does not present empirically testable hypotheses. Rather, it ventures to understand mankind's evolution *in a logically coherent world view* and to produce, within this context, suggestions on how to approach present challenges. In order to maintain such a holistic context, an ontological aspect is taken into consideration. The approach will be highly *systems theoretic* and is based upon the principle of *Unity in Diversity*. The paper, first, ventures to grasp the nature of world order from a historical perspective viewing human history as a *purpose-oriented evolution of social organization*. Trends and scenarios of an evolving global order are reviewed in the light of some of the reflections of thinkers and opinion-makers and in terms of the developments in international politics. Further, some theoretical speculations on the nature and ontology of unification and human diversity are presented, based on the postulate that "*the whole is always more than the sum of its parts*". Consistent with the presented world view, the practical claims of the evolving global order on the behavior of individuals and society are examined. A *new paradigm of consultation* is introduced seeking, instead of compromise, a synthesis of diverse world views and perspectives for generating completely new conceptions, thus extending even beyond the prospects of consensus. Finally, the ability of present educational approaches to meet the new exigencies of a synergic world are challenged and some proposals on the levels of ethics, understanding and behavior are outlined.

Did We Feel Better When We Had It Worse, and Who Is to Blame for This?

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The author refers to studies by a team of psychologists from Scandinavia and the Soviet Union on enemy images, showing fairly few references to traditional geo-political enemies when giving associations to "enemies of our country". Instead the associations often dealt with environmental threats, political/societal sub-groups etc. Thus, the Danish sub-study was entitled "From external, military to internal, civilian image of the enemy".

Using this as a starting-point the author discusses recent cases of "enemies from the inside" or "ethnic instability" as developed especially in the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union.

Can anything be done by peace educators to prevent aggressive nationalism and discriminatory ethno-nationalism? The author's answer is yes, and he argues for this position with references to various psychological studies and analyses. It is important to free people from being prisoners of their own violent history, for example by unveiling the psychological mechanisms behind scape-goating and enemy-making as well as the lies of demagogues, demonstrating how mass psychology works and may hypnotize people to be aggressive.

Perhaps a useful strategy model – similar to the one advocated by the Oxford group (Scilla McLean) for mapping nuclear decision-makers – would include close psychological mapping of coming and existing demagogic politicians in order to be able to educate populations in potential conflict areas via mass media of the risks of indoctrination. Propaganda resistance would be one important aim of this type of peace education directed to the general adult population.

University of Wisconsin Audio-Print Course on War and Peace

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An audio-print course on *Dilemmas of War and Peace* has been developed by an international team of faculty and advisors under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin-Extension (Wisconsin Public Radio and Independent Study), in cooperation with the Wisconsin Institute for the Study of War, Peace and Global Cooperation. The project was made possible by a major grant from the Annenberg Corporation for Public Broadcasting Project, with supplementary funding from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the University of Wisconsin-Madison Division of University Outreach.

The course is designed for use by faculty and/or students in a variety of settings, including incorporation in existing courses, independent study, long-distance learning, and use by public radio. Materials include 13 half-hour audio programs, a text, a study guide, a book of readings, and a faculty guide. In addition to peace studies, the materials could also be used to supplement courses in political science, history, sociology, war studies, peace studies, world order studies, and other subjects.

The course was designed by a six-member faculty team: Dr. Gwynne Dyer (Canadian military historian and columnist); Professor Leonard Gambrell (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire); Col. David Hansen (Chair, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College); Dr. Patricia Mische (Global Education Associates); Professor Dick Ringler (University of Wisconsin-Madison); and Professor Kent Shifferd (History and Environmental Studies, Northland College). The international advisory team included Major General William F. Burns (U.S. Army, Retired); Dr. Elizabeth Campbell (long-distance learning, Chinook Learning Center); Dr. Ronald J. Glossop (Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville); Professor Larry Olds (Minneapolis Community College); Dr. Sergei Plekhanov (Deputy director, Institute for the Study of USA and Canada, Academy of Sciences of the USSR); and Dr. Betty Reardon (Peace Education Program, Teachers College Columbia University). The audio programs were developed by Judith Strasser (Wisconsin Public Radio).

The course has the following topical sections and units:

I. *Introduction*
   1. Dilemmas of War, Peace and Justice in the Modern World

II. *Historical Background*
   2. Origins and Early History of Warfare
   3. War in Modern Times

III. *Why War? Why Peace?*
   4. Causes of War
   5. History and Systems of Peace
   6. Gender Roles in War and Peace
   7. Institutions of War and Peace
   8. War and Peace in Religious Traditions

IV. *The Contemporary Context*
   9. East-West Tensions: The Legacy of World War II
   10. North-South Tensions: The Legacy of Colonialism

V. *Coping with Dilemmas*
   11. Changing International Systems
   12. Evolving New Political Styles
   13. Prospects for Transformation

For more information, contact The Audio Store, 821 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53706, USA. (Tel. 1-800-972-8346.)

Religionism, Rationalism and Peace Education

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What are religion and churchianity? According to Western usage, the term *religion* means a system of irrational beliefs that is built on the following elements: (1) A set of fundamental beliefs – god, the devil, creation and doomsday, heaven and hell, etc. (2) A self-proclaimed male prophet who claims to be god's true "son" or the "last messenger" of god. (3) A set of divine revelations that the prophet claims were god's direct communication to him. – Some of the major activities of *churchianity* are: (1) Interpreting or altering the core beliefs without shaking up the belief system. (2) Expanding the church membership through proselytization, publicity, bribery, coercion, conquest and enslavement. (3) Enforcements of church decisions and dictates against any one who questions the faith and opposes church policies (often using harsh and cruel techniques).

Rationalism seeks knowledge and truth through the use of the thinking faculty that involves the five senses plus reasoning and logic, human experience and concrete evidence, and debate and discussion in the determination of facts, realities, and truths. By developing human philosophies, social ethics and cultural values, intellectuality combines rationalism and *humanism*. Rationalism without humanism is mere intelligence; humanism without rationalism can lead to blind beliefs or irrational appeals to emotions and sentiments. *Rational humanism* is the foundation on which democracy and peace can be constructed.

Education is the cultivation of the mind; education is, therefore, built upon rationalism, because it seeks truth through reason, logic and nonviolent debate and persuasion, not through irrationality, indoctrination and violence. Thus *peace education* must be built on the foundations of rationalism, humanism and nonviolence. Obviously churchianity and religionism cannot be the basis of peace education. Rational humanism, constructed on a secular and ethical basis, should be the guiding philosophy of peace education.

Note: The full paper will be published by PEC in the journal "Peace, Environment and Education" or as a separate miniprint.

Peace Action for Nonviolent Change in a Rapidly Changing Globe

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Rapid changes sweeping the globe provide challenges and opportunities for peace action, action for nonviolent change. It stands to reason that proper peace education is perhaps necessary in order to instill the will and capacity for peace action. At times, however, specific forms of peace action may be more feasible and fruitful for peace education than the conventional methods proposed by educators. One such form of peace action is satyagraha. To Gandhi satyagraha was much more than a technique for nonviolent action. It was an educational process that would not only create among the satyagrahis an acute awareness of injustice and exploitation but also restore their dignity and self-respect. It would also spur them to further nonviolent action. Study of several satyagrahas appears to substantiate those claims.

Learning our Way to a Human Future

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The ideas presented summarize learning experiences which have moved me from a systemic structural view of the world and education to a process, organic view. Acquaintance with ecological thinking has led me to a Gaia view of Earth as a living organism with human society as a subsystem within the whole.

It is important to move educational inquiry from the questions of what are the dangers of war, injustice and environmental abuse to what are the advantages and forms of peace, justice, ecological balance, how they are interrelated and how they can be achieved and maintained – a seemingly simple, but profoundly transformative shift of learning focus.

As American peace educators we must accept some very challenging tasks for the American educational community. Our schools should take up the nature of the resource exploitation and the flow of resources from South to North which gave rise to American affluence, at the cost of increased poverty for many in the developing countries. A curriculum on the consequences of the Cold War should certainly include a review of human rights and abuses, including consideration of American support of policies resulting in such abuses as apartheid and the military repression of liberation movements. Study of armed conflict in our century must deal with facts about the American defense industry that fuelled the arms race, as well as American interventions in other nations. Such interventions were often viewed as serious threats to world peace by allies as well as adversaries.

So far little has been done in our curricula development to confront racism that underlies inequity in educational opportunity for Native Americans living on reservations and poor Blacks.

A major goal is learning for responsible citizenship in a pluralistic world. Ecology and cooperation are two key concepts in facilitating learning toward a human future; pluralism and responsibility are key concepts that characterize the type of global society that would promote a human future. The varieties of cultures and modes of thought must be intentionally cultivated.

Inspired by a vision of a transformed global society, we have to take some concrete steps towards such goals in the daily context of our present professional positions, in small, but potentially significant projects which put our values into operation in current learning environments – in our

classrooms and in our communities.

One important aspect of such practical projects is the intention that they should involve local communities in problem solving. While the problems to be studied are global in scope, their manifestations at the local level will be the immediate concern. Students should engage with community members in seeking to resolve local problems of the environment or of human relations. Since such work requires teachers with training in ecological thinking and the pedagogy of cooperation, improved teacher training is important.

These are some of the background ideas in our present project "PEACE" (the Project on Ecological and Cooperative Education), from which we hope to publish a curriculum handbook which will enable other teachers to attempt similar educational programs.

Note: The full paper will be printed in "Learning Peace: The Promise of Ecological and Cooperative Education" to be published by SUNY Press in 1993 under the editorship of Eva Nordland, Norway.

Building a Peace Education Program: Critical Reflections on the Notre Dame University Experience in the Philippines

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This paper draws upon the experiential and theoretical insights gained from five years of developing a peace education program at Notre Dame University in the Philippines. The authors' critical reflections on that experience encompass the processes, relationships, and structures embodied in the program, and its achievements, constraints, difficulties and prospects for the future. The personal, social, political and cultural forces and influences underpinning the formation and evolution of the program are also explored. Hopefully, a case study of peace education in the Philippine context, which is burdened by such deep crises of conflict, violence and human suffering, may yield meaningful answers and questions for enhancing the craft and struggle of educating for peace, justice and compassion.

Note: The full paper has been published as No. 38 in the series "Peace Education Miniprints", 1992 (available from: School of Education, Box 23501, S-200 45 Malmö, Sweden).

Disintegrate and Integrate: Educating for an Interdependent World Through Three Stages

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Talking about the ongoing struggle for a redefinition of the state, and about the concepts of regionalism and globalism in contemporary international relations, this paper analyzes a three-stage organization of humanity: societal, regional and global levels.

It is the nation-state which denies the aspirations of local cultures and goes for organized warfare. Breaking up this construction, empowering local societies who cannot take war initiatives, and elevating a group of societies to a loose regional arrangement that cannot go for an organized warfare is a sound idea.

Although it is a little too early to make such a move in international relations, it can and must be done in education. Peoples and cultures share basic human values, aspirations, needs and rights in common. So cooperation in this realm may open up new vistas for economic and political understanding at the fundamental level rather than at the superficial level. This society/region-based work can reach for the globe much more easily and effectively than the present nation-state system might ever do. This model can offer an effective avenue for proper communication, conciliation, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping.

Promoting Environmental Responsibility in Higher Education

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The inclusion of environmental issues in education has received wide support from all levels of education. The task of higher education is to produce citizens who have high qualifications and who are not only capable of professional and scientific thinking but also of environmental responsibility. It is important to develop specialized studies and university teaching, which, via their contents and methods, can contribute to the formation of an attitude of environmental responsibility in students. Environmental responsibility refers to an entity of cognitive and attitudinal-ethical activity, which is crucial for the survival of mankind.

The aim of the research is to produce a study unit on environmental responsibility in two fields of higher education, journalism and economics, as part of the educational programmes in the fields in question.

The theoretical background in the formation of environmental responsibility is constituted by teaching contents and methods formulated on the basis of knowledge related to ecology, and social and educational psychology. The study will examine ways of integrating the teaching of environmental responsibility into the educational programs.

The study focusses on journalist education at the University of Jyväskylä and the University of Tampere. On the basis of interviews with the teaching staff and co-planning with a group of specialists, an experimental program will be carried out and evaluated at each of the participating departments.

The study will be carried out by interviewing teachers regarding the planning and implementation of the study unit. The study unit will be carried out at the departments taking part in the experimentation. The formation of environmental responsibility will be examined by means of student questionnaires and interviews.

The results of the study will be utilized at the national level in the development of teaching at different institutions of higher education. The aim is also to utilize the results internationally.

Summer Schools – A Meeting Place: Local and Global Contexts

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During the 70s several IPRA summer schools were held at the Västerhaninge folk high school outside Stockholm, Sweden. Researchers and activists got together for two weeks to study the contribution of research to development and social change. The summer schools were made possible not least because of the inspired and hard work of one person, Mr. John Shippee.

Participants were organized in study groups according to the various commissions of IPRA – but there was also plenary sessions for all commissions to contribute to the debate of certain problem areas.

Since then there have been some efforts at arranging summer schools at the Inter University Center in Dubrovnik, but never gathering the large groups of Västerhaninge. At the General conference of Groningen the question was raised whether this "tradition" of the summer schools could not be revived, and some persons were asked to look into the question.

In Västerhaninge, a document called the "Global strategy for change in various local settings" was put together by the participants of the Peace Education Commission, realizing that change is an ongoing and dialectic process of change between micro and macro contexts. The ongoing changes in the global system make this statement no less valid.

In her paper the author is looking at the possibility of reestablishing the summer school tradition in a network organization. There should be a concrete problem to be addressed by researchers of many nationalities and backgrounds. Local situations should be illuminated by cross-disciplinary approaches.

A Formula for Peace – Finally Affordable

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Having taught about the effects of nuclear war since 1959 and problems of nuclear disarmament since 1979, and convinced that there could be an acceptable solution to the war problem, this problem-solving physicist took on the task, as a personal challenge and as an example for his students. As a lesson for students the challenge concentrates with broad strokes upon the fundamental problems and possible remedies to achieve a world with peace and justice for all people. Evidence since 1985 seems to confirm recommended procedures.

The "formula" already comes too late for some 17 million people killed in world conflicts since 1945. And in early 1992 no nation has yet stopped their production of nuclear weapons; the world goes on at its average rate, 3 per day every day of every year since 1945.

The "formula" is designed to provide or achieve the following, for nations which abide by the UN Charter and Covenants:

1. The virtual elimination of the possibility of nuclear war.
2. The elimination of unemployment and budget deficits in the developed world.
3. In the less-developed world, the elimination of malnutrition, disease, poverty, slavery, "ignorance", and neo-colonialism. ("Ignorance" is used in the context of formal education, literacy rate, access to a free press.)

The "formula" includes a procedure for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons, while simultaneously maintaining perfect equivalence and equal vulnerabilities, and achieving "modernization". Hence a pattern is also established for the elimination of more conventional weaponry.

The author indicates the resources available for the "formula", as much as $ US 6,600 Billion; and he describes how the formula could be implemented.

Peace Education Using Literature on Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Victims

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In Japan an extensive literature of works on victims of the atomic bomb exists. As we live in an age when we are all potential victims of nuclear weapons, it is important to reevaluate this literature in order to see how it can be applied to peace education, as well as the peace movement in general. The subject of this paper is peace education using literature pertaining to the victims of atomic and hydrogen bombs. I will also quote portions of some selected works so that it will allow non-Japanese researchers to experience some of this literature for themselves.

1. Literature on Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Victims

Yohko Ohta is an atomic bomb victim who wrote about her experiences in Hiroshima in *Shikabane no Machi (A City of Corpses)* in 1945. Kyohko Hayashi described the experiences of atomic bomb victims in Nagasaki thirty years after the event in *Gyaman Bihdoro*. Sadako Kurihara wrote a poem, "Let Her Give Birth". Yuhko Yamaguchi wrote about fishermen who became victims of a test explosion of the hydrogen bomb in *Umi Haruka (The Sea Far Away)*.

2. Peace Education Through Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Literature

Peace education from preschool to high school is very important. It is also very important to promote peace education at the college and university level. Literature, along with the social sciences and natural sciences, plays an important role in peace education because it communicates the horror of war and affirms the value of peace. I would like to see atomic bomb literature translated into foreign languages and published so that it can be used by peace education programs and peace movements throughout the world.

Ecological Leadership in an Age of Diminishing Superpower Expectations

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A reversal of environmental decay will require extraordinary application of funds. The obvious source for ecological capital is the military. The easing of U.S.-Soviet tensions opens up possibilities for reallocation of funds. However, so far the persistance of a militaristic mentality and its spending consequences robs both the environment and the poor of this world of needed capital.

One of the features of ecological thinking is the willingness to understand the world less as "resource" and more as "home". To have a home means to be mindful of its gifts and its needs. The *metaphor of home* can provide vision both for policy and for a pedagogy grounded in inter-connected living.

One of the learning goals of schools dedicated to ecological healing and cooperative living is *inter-generational sensitivity*. The age-segregated learning environments in which most of us are currently educated rob us of significant experiences.

A related educational objective might be described as ecological *life-style training*, with increased awareness of what we consume, what we waste, how we set personal priorities.

Grassroots democracy, learning to participate intelligently in decisions which need to be made and which affect basic qualities of life, is another essential aim for school learning.

Young people need to know where products come from, how they are made, what are the conditions of their creation. Such *craftsmanship* also involves some responsibility for our products.

Educators should stimulate within students the *connections of thinking and feeling* and the *skills of networking*. Small groups of determined persons may be the most effective catalysts for change. Schools must help the young locate their communities of conversation and protest.

Note: The full paper will be printed in "Learning Peace: The Promise of Ecological and Cooperative Education" to be published by SUNY Press in 1993 under the editorship of Eva Nordland, Norway.